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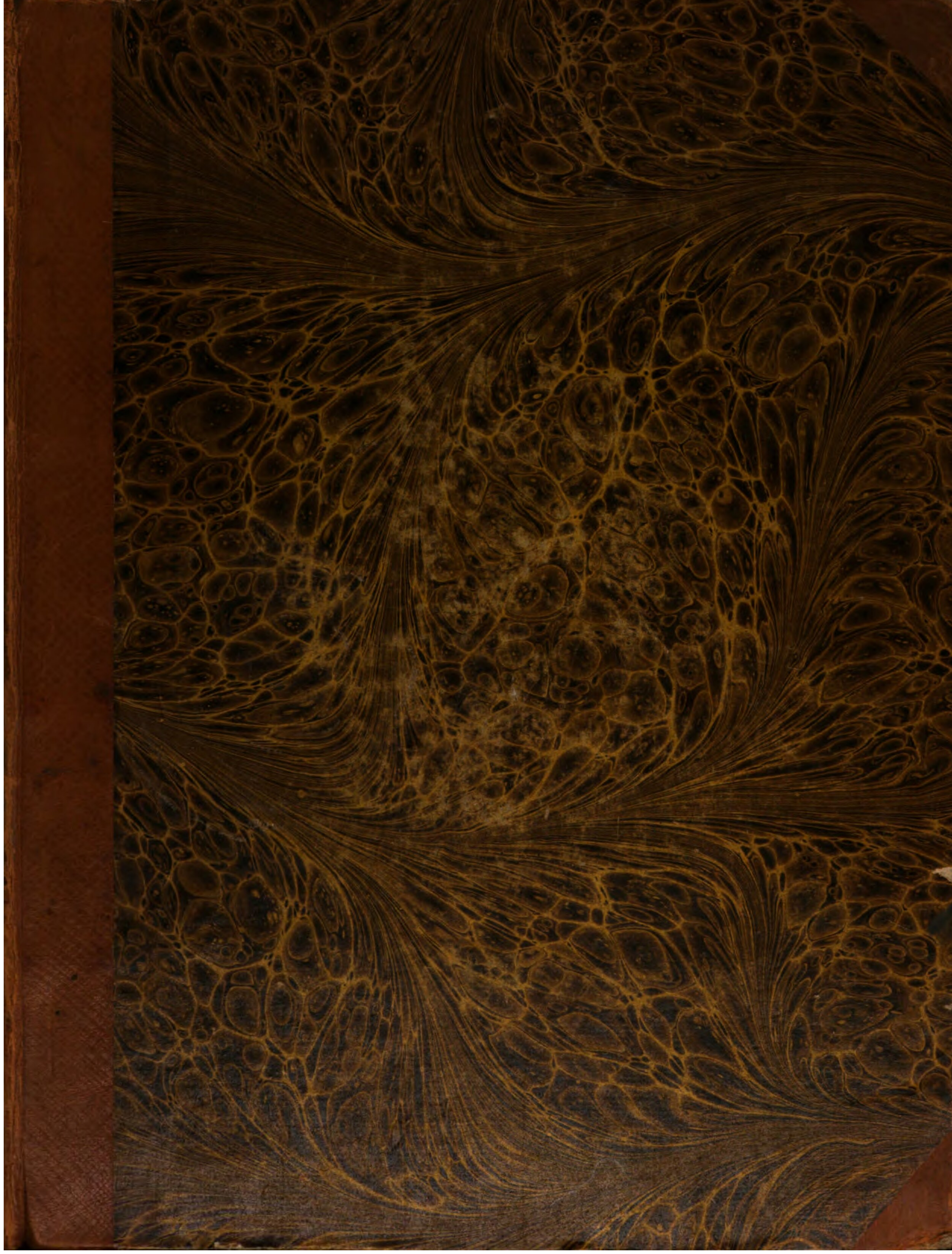
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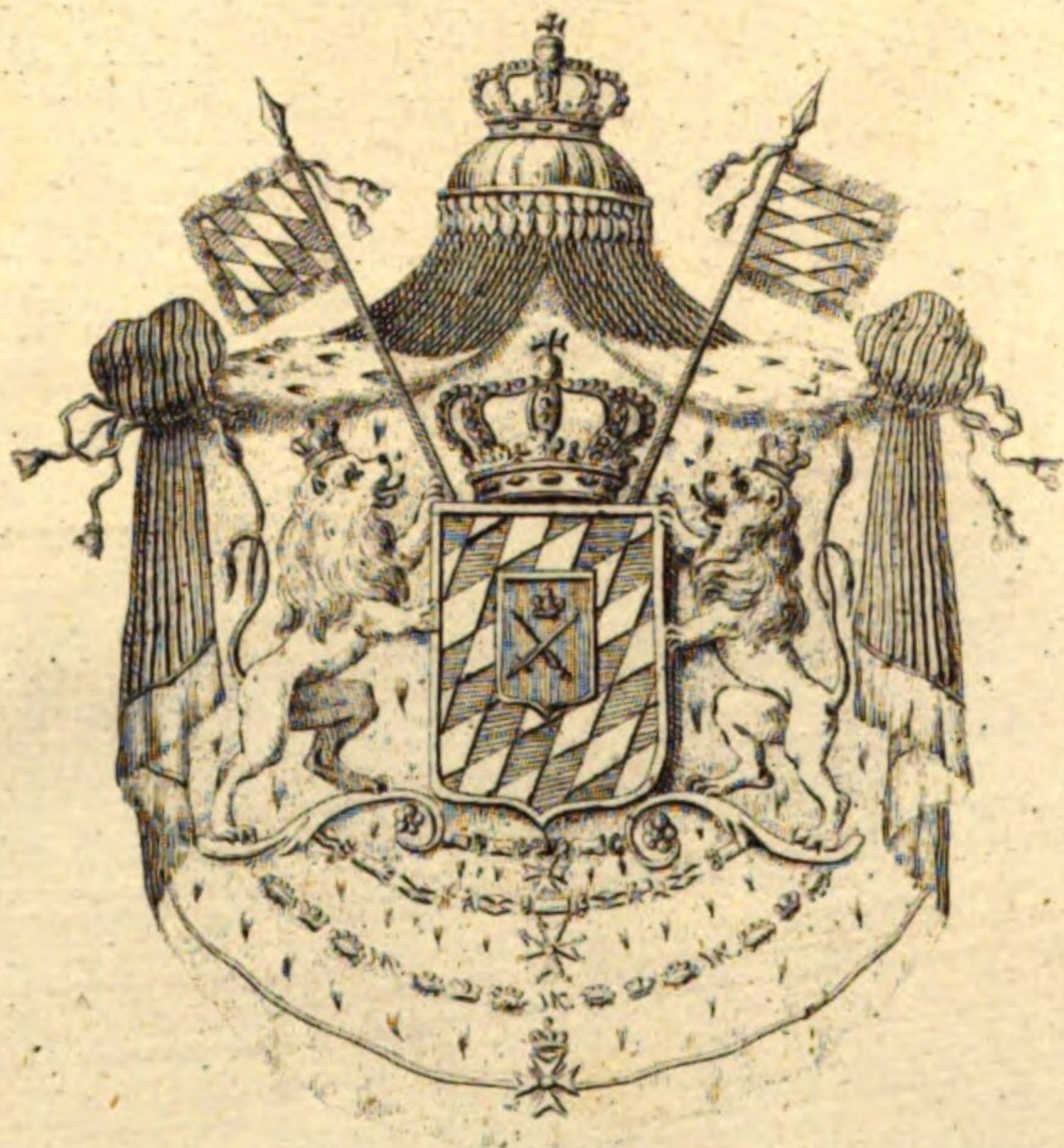
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HISTORY
OF
SCOTLAND

UNDER THE
HOUSE OF STUART.

VOLUME II.

BY JOHN FINLAYSON

EDINBURGH

1841

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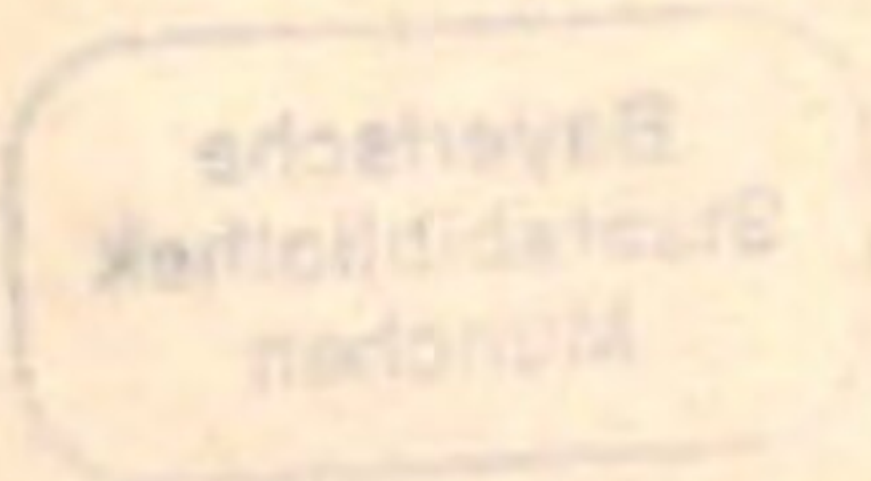
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THE

HISTORY OF SCOTLAND.

BOOK X.

BEING

THE FIRST PART OF THE REIGN OF JAMES IV.

Character of James IV—Sir Andrew Wood—parliament—insurrection—Home and Angus—parliament—privy council—naval affairs—parliaments—fishery—Scottish court—Perkin Warbeck—war with Henry VII—truce—affair at Norham—university of Aberdeen—order of St. Andrew—magnificence of James.

A T length a reign arises, undisturbed by the disorders of a minority; and forming a strong contrast to the preceding in spirit, and ability. The young monarch was soon to develop a character brightened with many illustrious qualities, and darkened with few shades. His strict administration of justice, by which the realm was maintained in a tranquillity long unknown, his uniform concord with his nobles, his magnificence, his generosity, his patronage of useful arts and sciences, particularly navigation, which had been strangely

1488

1488 neglected by the Scottish monarchs, and even his spirit of chivalry, were to render his reign popular and glorious. Nor has it been unjustly asserted that the period of his domination was that of the greatest wealth, and power, of Scotland, while a separate kingdom. Yet some of his qualities were rather specious than solid, and rather belonged to chivalrous romance than to real life: in the high regal duties of a politician, and of a general, he was extremely defective; his natural impetuosity predominating alike in his smaller pursuits, and in his most important affairs. The avarice of the preceding reign he contrasted by a profusion, which secured the attachment of the peers at the expence of the people. That superstitious devotion, which, with a few exceptions, was inherent in his family from its first elevation, till its final descent from the throne, was in the fourth James much increased by his remorse for the death of his father; and the mass formed one of his chief daily offices. The resources of his magnificence were not exempt from a charge of extortion: but his gentleness, and affability, won all hearts, and stifled all murmurs. Just in his decrees, the severity of punishment was softened by his visible reluctance to chastise. To admonition, or even reproach, his ear was open; and his sense of an innocent conscience such that he listened without the smallest emotion. By a neglected education he was ignorant of letters; but his mind was acute; he excelled in music, in horsemanship, and other exercises; and a firm constitution enabled him to support every fatigue. His person was of the middle size, and elegant; his countenance majestic¹.

The

¹ Compare Lindsay, 159, 160; Lesley 330; Buch. XIII, 42. In the new edition of Leland's Collectanea, Vol. IV, p. 258, seq. may be found minute anecdotes of his manners, &c. in 1503. One passage mentions that "his beard

was

The fate of James III being unknown to the conspiring lords, they withdrew their forces to Linlithgow, till certain information should be obtained. Tidings arrived that Sir Andrew Wood's two ships, sailing up and down the Forth, received in their boats several wounded men, among whom it was suspected that the king might have found his safety. The lords upon this advanced to Leith, and sent messengers to Wood, to enquire if James was aboard either of his vessels: the commander denied that he was; but the lords, unsatisfied, insisted that he should appear before their council, to which he consented upon condition that the lords Seton and Fleming should be remitted, as pledges for his safe return. Upon his appearance, he denied any knowledge concerning the king, and boldly reproached the peers for their treason; whose vengeance was only repressed by the consideration of their pledges. Seton and Fleming having returned, upon Wood's deliverance, it was resolved to punish that brave officer for his insulting behaviour; but the captains and mariners of Leith declined the hazardous service, and informed the council that no ten ships of Scotland would dare to assault Wood's two vessels, such was his strength in men and artillery, and such his maritime and military skill. Amid the signal fortuitous advantages of the

1488

June

was somewhat long;" but beards were not then worn, and the meaning is such as would apply in our times, that he had neglected to shave, or to cut it close with scizzars, as, by the same account, was done on his wedding day.

² Lindsay, 145—147. Buchan. XIII, 1. The former writer narrates the story with his usual circumstantial simplicity. The names of Wood's two vessels were, the Flower and the Yellow Carvel, (*carvel* a galley, a ship.) The passage in which James mistakes Wood for his father is pathetic, but can have no claim to truth, James being sixteen years of age, and certainly knowing his father perfectly. No hint of previous estrangement occurs: on the contrary the prince resided at Stirling, the chosen abode of his father.

³ Lindsay, 147, who on this occasion mentions BARTON, a name famous in the naval annals of Scotland. Buch. XIII, 1.

1488 reign of James III may be placed the first minute appearance of a warlike fleet in Scotland: and the warm loyalty of Wood seems to indicate that this establishment was indebted to royal patronage.

A short space of time certified the unhappy death of the late
24 June sovereign. The solemn inauguration of James IV was no sooner celebrated at Scone, than a revocation was published of all lands, dignities, and offices, granted by his father, since the second day of February last; for the assigned reason that such gifts had been bestowed in support of a council who opposed the public good⁴. The young monarch then proceeded to take possession of the castle of Edinburgh, which had been garrisoned by the late king: and to that of Stirling a new governor was appointed⁵. But neither the cares, nor the pleasures of royalty could save his mind from the keenest remorse, when he considered his constrained share in the fate of his father. Residing for some time at Stirling the priests of the royal chapel deplored, in his presence, and even in their prayers, the death of their founder; and the solemnity of religion increased the mental gloom of his son; who resolved, with amiable superstition, to wear constantly in penance an iron girdle, the weight of which he increased with his years. The Roman pontiff spared the youth and innocence of James; but darted the thunders of the Vatican at the rebellious barons, whose arms had been pointed against their sovereign⁶.

6 Oct. Of the parliament, which assembled at Edinburgh this year, the most remarkable act is that intitled, The Proposition of

⁴ This revocation is mentioned in the Acts of Oct. this year, f. 83, c. 17.

⁵ Lindsay, 148. Buch. XIII, 2.

⁶ Lindsay, ib. Buch. XIII, 9. Lesley, 330. The popular opinion, un-
conversant in nice distinctions, was that James had slain his father. Comines, V,
18. Leland Coll. IV, App. Whitsuntide 1488.

the debate of the field of Stirling. By this statute it is declared that the late king's want of fidelity, in the observance of certain articles, affirmed to the peers by his own subscription; his confidence in perverse councils; and his partiality to the English; are to be esteemed the efficient causes of his fate: and that his son, and the conspiring peers, were innocent of any blood shed in that civil conflict⁷. It is unnecessary to enter into the warm political disputes, which have originated from this institute of successful rebellion, which partakes so little of fundamental law, and so much of temporary circumstances. At present this aristocratic deed will be sufficiently understood to infer no advantage to public freedom. But in consequence of this parliamentary declaration, of the royal favour to the nobles during this reign, and of their increasing power under the succeeding minority; principles of government, far indeed from new, but unknown for many centuries, began to prevail in Scotland. Enlightened enough to perceive the defects, incidental to monarchical government, but not to descry its

⁷ Acts, f. v. 82. The chief managers of this parliament, and some of its proceedings, may be traced in Carmichael's Tracts, 76—78. Argyle continues chancellor, Hales is master of the household, Lyle justiciary, Home chamberlain, Knowls of Torphichen treasurer. The imprisonment of Angus by the late king, p. 77, seems unknown. On the 15th Oct. p. 78, Patrick Hepburn lord Hales was created earl of Bothwell. Titles were now becoming vague, the lords Lyle, Carlyle, &c. being so styled from their names: but Bothwell had only the advantage of being a title already used. The barony had been forfeited by Douglas, 1455; and was before 1528 to return to Angus.

From Scottstarvet's Calendars it appears that Largo was confirmed to Wood, 27 July 1488: that Hales or Bothwell was created "great Admiral of Scotland for life," in the same month: on the 10th Sept. an annuity of 300 marks was granted to James Douglas knight, (the degraded earl?) in Oct. the custody of Dunbarton castle, formerly held by Evandale, was given to Lennox and his son; as that of Stirling was, in the ensuing January, assigned to James Shaw of Sauchy, and John Shaw of Alweth his son. John Ellem was forfeited for defending Dunbar against James III.

lasting

1488 lasting advantages; and at the same time so unskilled as to prefer many tyrants to one, and to confound the nation with the nobles, the interests of a million and a half of people with those of fifty chiefs; the Scottish historians, Mair, Boyce, Buchanan, were to declaim against monarchy; and, under the name of the popular power, to support that of the aristocracy. As they have indicated no new organ, by which the national will was to be declared; and no reform in parliament, a body guided by the king, or by the nobles; it is evident that their views were either theoretical effervescences, caught from the classical writers, or tended solely to increase the aristocratic preeminence.

This parliament also decreed that an embassy should be sent to France, Bretagne, Spain, and other countries, to provide a bride for the king^{*}. England being omitted, it is evident that the new reign had, as not unusual, reversed the political maxims of the former. The ambassadors were likewise empowered to renew the league between France and Scotland: but this embassy was not effected. Other statutes appear concerning the late civil commotions: all justices, sheriffs, stewards, and other officers who had joined the late king, were, if hereditary, suspended for three years; if not, utterly incapacitated: churchmen taken in arms were to be delivered to their ordinary, for legal punishment: those heirs who had been disinherited by their loyal fathers, on account of their attachment to the prince, were restored to their claim: as a small act of grace, all goods, taken since the battle near Stirling, from

^{*} Acts, f. 79. Of the 26th Dec. 1489, appears a grant to Elphinston bishop of Aberdeen, for his services in his embassy to France, *England*, Burgundy, Austria. Scott. Cal. The main object seems to have been, the vindication of James from the apparent murder of his father. The act of indemnity bears that it was to be shewn to foreign courts.

burgesses,

burghes, merchants and unlanded men, though the late king's 1488
 partizans, are ordered to be restored; together with personal
 freedom, and compensation. Such ordinances rather bespeak
 the influence of a party, than the equity of a monarch; while
 an act of general indemnity would have been a measure of
 justice and prudence. Decrees of a wider import order that
 foreign vessels shall only trade with the free burghs of the
 realm, and not purchase fish, nor enter into any commerce, at
 the isle of Lewis, or other distant places. The usual regula-
 tions and privileges of the church are to be observed. It is
 ordained that a new coinage of gold and silver be issued; and
 that bullion be imported. The castle of Dunbar is ordered to
 be demolished; and the custody of that of Edinburgh is com-
 mitted to lord Hales, with the care of the king's brother,
 James duke of Ross. The king is advised to travel through
 his dominions, for the administration of justice, and the lords
 of the justiciary are ordered to attend him, as he or his council
 shall appoint. For the more effectual security of public order,
 certain noblemen and gentlemen are empowered to punish
 theft, spoil, and other outrages, committed within the limits
 of their own domains, and the lands adjacent, till the king
 shall attain the age of twenty one years. It is remarkable
 that, in the specification of territory, the northern counties of
 Ross, Sutherland, and Caithness, are omitted; with the islands
 Hebudes, and the Orkneys; a proof, among many, of the
 slow progress of public jurisdiction in Scotland⁹.

In a session of parliament, held at Edinburgh, nothing 1489
 memorable was transacted, except the erection of the see of 21 Jan.

⁹ Acts, f. 79—84. This curious record of the partition of justice may be found in our common histories, and illustrates the state of parties, and the power of the aristocracy.

1489 Glasgow into an archbishopric¹. A forfeiture issued against
 { John earl of Lennox, lord Darnley, and Matthew Stuart his
 son, and Robert lord Lyle, for concerting measures against
 6 April the administration, was formally rescinded². But this lenity
 was soon discovered to be premature.

Many of the nobles still nourished the memory of their
 loyalty to James III, and were much dissatisfied with the
 present measures. They affected to regard the king as a cap-
 tive in the hands of his father's murderers; and to execrate
 the fortunate rebels, who, not content with escaping public
 vengeance themselves, dared to hurl it against the loyal and
 the good; and being the authors of injury, never could pardon.
 Alexander lord Forbes displayed in Aberdeen, and other
 northern towns and regions, the bloody shirt of the murdered
 sovereign, suspended from a spear; and loudly summoned all
 good subjects to revenge. This spectacle, like the robe of
 Cæsar, aroused more than any power of eloquence: and the
 flame began to spread to a great extent, and violence, when it
 was suddenly extinguished. For the discontented nobles,
 (among whom were some who had engaged in the prince's
 cause, but had now reasons of enmity against his counsellors,)
 having fixed, and communicated, their designs, the earl of
 Lennox led a considerable force towards the north, to join
 their standard. Finding it impracticable to march by the
 bridge of Stirling, he turned to the west, intending to pass the
 Forth by a ford; and encamped at a spot called Tilly-moss.
 One of his followers, named Macalpin, deserted; and gave
 intelligence to lord Drummond, then apparently with the

¹ Carm. 75.

² Ibid. and 79. Darnley claimed the title of Lennox in 1483, in right of
 his grandmother, daughter of Duncan earl of Lennox; James IV, in the be-
 ginning of his reign, granted the title. Stew. Gen. 153.

court at Stirling, that the camp of Lennox was void of watch ¹⁴⁸⁹ or military discipline, and exposed to every danger of security. Drummond, assembling a few attendants of the court, and volunteers, hastily advanced, and attacked the sleep of Lennox and his people. Confusion, death, flight, terminated the idle expedition. The captives were taken with indifference, and dismissed with contempt; except a few of tumultuous spirit, who were distinguished by punishment. The fate of Lennox is unmentioned in our annals, and statutes; but he was apparently captured and pardoned. This insurrection was the more remarkable, as Lennox had received his title, and the command of Dunbarton castle, from the young monarch. Lord Lyle, another favourer of the prince against his father, and Matthew Stuart, apparently the heir of Lennox, defended Dunbarton castle against the government; but that fortress was taken, and the succeeding parliament granted a remission to the captives³.

Such is the most authentic account of this commotion, which can be drawn from our histories; many passages of which are still enveloped in clouds of obscurity.

Home was now appointed warden of the eastern marches; 26 Aug. and he had, in the preceding year, been constituted great chamberlain of Scotland during his life. He was also no-

³ Lesley, 330, dates the insurrection of Lennox in 1488; Buchanan's chronology, XIII, 4, 5, inclines to 1489. The latter epoch seems confirmed by a letter of James IV to Arbuthnot of Arbuthnot, published in Nisbet's Heraldry, II, 89, seq. dated 26 Sept. *regni* 2, = 1489. The king desires him to keep his strong holds strictly, for the royal behoof, as the earl Marshal, Alexander Master of Huntley, Alexander lord Forbes, &c. are forming treasonable leagues at Dunbarton castle. The renewed forfeiture of Lennox, his son, and Lyle, in the parliament of Feb. 1490, (Carm. 79); and the remission to such of their adherents as held Dunbarton castle, in the same parliament, (Acts, f. 90,) concur in justifying the date here assigned.

1489 minated governor to the king, with the custody of Stirling castle; and the tuition for nine years of the earl of Mar, the youngest brother of James. He was in fact the prime minister, during the greater part of this reign, and in constant favour with his sovereign: the continuance of his power indicating much art, or much moderation⁴. Angus more ambitious, like a Douglas, of independent dignity, than of courtly splendor, was contented with his former office, the wardenship of the western marches, and the title of privy counsellor; but upon the death of Argyle, in 1493, he was appointed chancellor⁵. Nor was the favour of James confined to those peers who had asserted his cause; he soon learned that fidelity to his father was a pledge of similar attachment to himself, and extended his benignity to the whole aristocracy, a conduct productive of internal concord, and of the warmest support from his nobles, then the leaders of the people; so that his reign was to become remarkable for a strong comparative degree of splendor, opulence, and popularity⁶.

1490 Several important statutes were issued by the parliament⁷.
15 Feb. The king, and his council, were empowered to establish universal concord among the subjects; and to punish those who rejected an equitable amity. The payment of the tax, ordered

⁴ Crawf. Off. 323 from the archives. Scotstarvet, at the end of the year 1489, mentions a grant to Alexander Home great chamberlain, *ey* (grandson) and apparent heir to Alexander lord Home. In April 1490 the lands of Mar and Garioch were assigned to Home, for the maintenance and education of Mar the king's brother. Ibid.

⁵ Crawf. Off. 54, 55, from the records.

⁶ Of this year the following curious grants occur in Scotstarvet's Calendars. Orkney and *Yetland* are let to Bothwell, and the prior of St. Andrews, for 13 years at 550 marks a year, 29 May: a lease to lord Sinclair, *of the same tenor*, 28 May. Bute is leased to lord Montgomery for 141*l.* 18*s.* 6*d.*

⁷ Acts, f. 84—90.

by the last parliament, to defray the expences of the embassy, ¹⁴⁹⁰ is enforced; and it is declared that the king's remission of any person's share is void, as the king could not discharge a tax granted by the estates for an appointed purpose: an act leading to valuable consequences. A new revocation appears of all grants, and gifts, made of the royal revenue, since the coronation of James. Auditors were appointed to inspect the accompts of the treasurer, and other officers employed in the management of the crown-rents both in this, and the preceding reign. To collect the king's property, or the proceeds of the royal domains, certain noblemen and gentlemen are nominated for each county; and there is reason to infer, from the enumeration, that this revenue was large, but we unhappily find no estimates: it appears that there were now regal lands of more or less extent, in every region of Scotland, even to the Orkneys; except Sutherland, Caithness, the Hebudes, and the opposite coast from Knapdale northwards. The earls of Sutherland, and of Caithness, remote from the court, appear never to have engaged in faction; while the just forfeiture of the Hebudes had not been carried into complete effect from the want of a fleet, and of the means of supporting garrisons, necessary to maintain the possession of a remote district, and the obedience of a savage people, to whom the Scottish jurisdiction was unknown^s.

This parliament also proceeded to appoint proper persons, as a secret council to the king; among whom the earl of Craw-

^s In 1475 John lord of the Isles was forfeited: in 1476 he was restored, on yielding Ross, &c. to the crown. In August 1481 a charter to him for his services appears: Scott. Cal. Yet about 1490 he was forfeited, says Douglas, (Peerage 357 seq.) as appears from many charters between 1490 and 1498. But in Scotstarvet's Calendars the first mention of his forfeiture occurs in a charter of Aug. 1493.

1490 } ford, whose title of duke of Montrose, had been recently confirmed for his life, appears to have been the sole follower of the late monarch, who gained admission: and this peer was indeed the chief loyalist who finally adhered to James III; the influence of the others being inconsiderable. No royal act was to be regarded as authentic, except it were subscribed by at least six of the secret council; and the chancellor's consent was indispensable.

Embassies of alliance were ordered to France, Spain, and Denmark. The truce, made with England, was enforced by regulations for the holding of solemn march-days, in order to settle differences, so long as the English testified the like desire. Many other statutes of public utility were passed, which reflect no small praise on the attention of the new government to the national advantage.

Amid the imperfections, and discordance, of the original accounts, it is difficult to adjust, with chronological precision, two events in the commencement of this reign; the trial of David Lindsay of the Byres; and the maritime battles of Sir Andrew Wood with the English. The partialities of Lindsay the historian appear to have amplified these incidents; while his circumstantial narration confirms their general truth. The trial he ascribes to a parliament, held on the tenth of May 1489, while no record exists of any national council at that epoch: and he mentions that twenty eight lords, and as many great barons, were then summoned to answer for their adherence to James III; a circumstance palpably romantic. It would seem that David Lindsay had engaged in the confederacy with Forbes and Lennox; and that he was tried this year, but acquitted by an imperfection in the indictment. For the particulars, which are detailed with native simplicity, the original work mentioned may

may be consulted; as their minuteness, connected with no 1490 great event, is unfit for historical narration⁹.

It has already been observed that, in the year 1486, a truce of three years had been concluded with England and the indenture of the heralds, in 1487, for a lasting peace, being annulled by the subsequent events, the expiration of the truce must be assigned to the month of July 1489: nor does any further treaty appear till December 1491; though the Scottish act of parliament above adduced, implies that a truce existed in February 1490¹. In such uncertainty it has appeared preferable to abide by the positive date assigned by Buchanan, who places the chief action of Wood on the tenth of August, fourteen hundred and ninety². The silence of the English annalists,

⁹ Lindsay, 150—155. The parliament of Jan. 1489 might have formed a session of justice in May: and it certainly deprived David Lindsay, earl of Crawford, of two lordships, granted to him by James III. Carm. 75. Some such severe proceedings may have stimulated the rebellion of 1489, which Crawford not joining, he was rewarded by the recognizance of his title of duke of Montrose.

¹ Rymer, XII, 434, gives a permission by Henry to Knowles prior of St. John, to trade with one ship, for one year, if the truce with Scotland last so long: 21 Dec. 1490. In 1490 also appear, among his unprinted papers N^o 4617, art. 78, 23 March, a warrant to pay the expences of the Scottish envoys, 23*l.* 4*s.* 10*d.* and an order for the Scots wandering in the northern counties to return.

² Lindsay, 155—159 dates both the actions in 1489. Buchanan, XIII, 2, 3, ascribes the first to 1488, and XIII, 6, the second to 1490. This discrepancy of the accounts, yet their general similarity, and the fixed epoch assigned by the latter historian, concur to evince the veracity of the facts.

Of the 14th May 1491 appears a charter, wherein James, considering the damage done to his subjects at sea by the English and Dutch, grants the isle of Inchgarvey, between the Queen's ferries, to John Dundas of Dundas, to build a *fortalice* thereon; with the constabulary thereof, and the duties on ships passing. Scott. Cal. But Dundas neglected the affair; and it was not till about 1510, as will afterwards be seen, that James erected the fort.

concerning

1490 concerning these maritime affairs, will excite little hesitation with those who know the lame and meagre information, presented by the original historians of England at this period.

The barrenness of naval transactions in the Scottish history renders the deeds of Wood not a little singular, and interesting; for which reason the minute relation of Lindsay shall be followed. Five English vessels having entered the Forth, despoiled some mercantile ships belonging to Scotland, and her allies. James and his council, irritated by the indignity, eagerly desired revenge, but could not prevail upon any masters of vessels to proceed against the enemy, till they applied to Sir Andrew Wood of Largo, whom they incited by large offers of men and artillery, of royal favours and rewards. Being furnished with an ample provision of men, cannon, and arms, Wood proceeded with his two ships, the Flower, and the Yellow Carvel, against the English, who were also not deficient in artillery; and finding them opposite to Dunbar, an obstinate and sanguinary conflict ensued. Wood's extreme courage, and naval skill, at length procured the victory: the five English vessels were taken, and brought to Leith; the commander presented to the king and council. The spirit and conduct of Wood were recompensed by honourable rewards, by the favour of James and the nobles, and by the loud voice of public fame.

Henry VII, concerned at the unusual disgrace of the English flag, inflicted by a power unknown in the annals of the sea, offered a large yearly sum to any commander who should capture Wood. But the skill, valour, and fortune of the Scottish leader were now so celebrated, that fear repressed avarice. At length Stephen Bull, an English officer, engaged to seize Wood dead or alive; and was provided with three stout ships completely equipped for war. Bull passing to the Forth, anchored
behind

behind the isle of May; where he awaited the return of Wood, ¹⁴⁹⁰ who had escorted some merchant vessels to Flanders, expecting that peace was established. The English captain seized some fishing boats, and retained the mariners, that by their information he might not mistake his object. On a summer-morn, ^{10 Aug.} a little after dawn, one of the English ship-masters descried two vessels coming under sail, by St. Ebbs Head: the prisoners were ordered to the tops, that they might declare whether these vessels were Wood's, or not; and, upon their hesitation, freedom being offered in case this was the expected prey, they announced the Scottish admiral. Bull, with the exultation of English courage, ordered the preparations for battle; and, after distributing wine and cheerfulness, commanded all to their stations. Wood advanced, unconscious of foes, till he perceived the three ships under sail, and attired for combat. He instantly prepared, and addressed his men in the plain and boisterous phrase of the sea: "These, my lads, are the foes, who expect to convey us in bonds to the English king: but by your courage, and the help of God, they shall fail. Set yourselves in order, every man to his station. Charge gunners: let the cross-bows be ready: have the lime-pots, and fire-balls, to the tops: two handed swords to the fore-rooms. Be stout, be diligent, for your own sakes, and for the honour of this realm." Wine was then dealt around; and the ships resounded with acclamations.

The sun, now above the horizon, shone full upon the English vessels, and displayed their magnitude and force to the eyes of the Scots, with a dazzling and enlarged appearance. Wood skilfully attained the wind-ward of the foe; and engaged in a close combat, which continued undecided from morning till night, while crowds of spectators, assembling on the coast of Fife, expressed by their gestures and voice, their alternate hopes and fears. During the night the combatants lay by to refresh

1490 refresh and refit: at the dawn of day the trumpets again summoned them to arms. The battle continued so obstinate, that the neglected vessels drove before an ebb-tide, and south wind, till they were opposite to the mouth of the Tay. At length the valour and seamanship of Wood prevailed: the three English ships were captured, and brought to Dundee, where the wounded were properly tended. Wood presented Bull to the Scottish monarch, and was rewarded as such eminent services merited. James gave a specimen of his future regal spirit by bestowing gifts upon the English commander, and his people; and sending them and their ships as a present to their sovereign; whom he at the same time informed that Scotland could also boast of warlike sons both by sea and land; and therefore desired that Henry would no more insult the Scottish seas, else a different fate should await the intruders. Henry murmured thanks, and dissembled.

1491 The English king, whose pacific policy was aware of the advantages to arise from a lasting amity with Scotland, had already formed the design, which by perseverance he accomplished, of uniting James with an English princess. It was apparently with a sole view to the security of this scheme that Henry now entered into a disgraceful negotiation. John lord Bothwell a favourite of James III, and Sir Thomas Tod of Sereshaw one of that king's servants, subscribed an engagement at Greenwich, for themselves, and James earl of Buchan uncle to the late Scottish king, importing that they should bring, and deliver into the hands of Henry, the king of Scots then reigning, and his second brother the duke of Ross: in expectation of which service Henry's avarice advances a small sum of money³. So many difficulties attended this perfidious

³ Rymer, XII, 440. The sum was 266*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* which is mentioned to obviate the strange inaccuracy of Abercromby and Guthrie. It amounts to 800*l.* Scottish, that money being then to the English as one to three.

and

and daring measure, that it appears never to have been at- 1491
tempted; and perhaps was originally a mere suggestion of the }
necessities of Bothwell, and Tod.

Another parliament having met, it was ordained that the 18 May
alliance with France should be renewed⁴; and, if possible,
more ample privileges obtained in that kingdom, for the
Scotish merchants: for which purpose, and for effecting the
marriage of James, the earl of Bothwell, late lord Hales,
and other embassadors of high rank, were appointed. Within
a month after, the English court granted a passport for this
embassy, which was also to proceed to Spain: but Henry pro-
bably by presents to Home, or others in the Scotish ministry,
persisted to frustrate the intentions of marriage. Some of our
writers affect to consider a papal interdict against Scotland, as
the cause that the embassies repeatedly proposed had not been
executed; but the pope's censures did not extend to the king,
or kingdom, as appears from the absolving rescript of Inno-
cent VIII, soon to be noticed: the arts of Henry may there-
fore be regarded as the cause of delay; and against them the
Scotish parliament could not provide, though certainly too
wise to order embassies which could not be effected. A treaty

A curious original letter occurs in Cal. B. III, f. 19. of this or the pre-
ceding year. It is from the *Master* of Huntley to Henry VII, and is dated
8th January. The writer requests Henry to remember the slaughter of James,
by a part of his false and untrue lieges, as that monarch "stood in near ten-
derness of blood to your highness;" and to join and assist the lords in revenge.
Buchan is referred to for other matters, and what he promises the writer shall
perform. The direction is "Til the kyng's grace of Ingland."

In May 1491 the earl of Huntley was constituted lieutenant of the North,
till the king had attained the age of 25. Scotst. Cal. In April the *stewardry*
of March and Dunbar were assigned to Home. Ib. See notes 1489.

⁴ Acts, f. 90. Du Tillet states a renewal by James on the 4th of March
1492: fol. 149, edit. Paris 1588, folio.

1491 with Denmark was also again decreed. The days of truce, and warden courts, were ordered to be held in regular observance: so that a truce still existed with England; and it is to be suspected that the maritime actions of Wood were only exerted against pirates.

Among other wise statutes of this parliament^s, the holding of high justice courts twice in the year is enforced; and it is ordained that when it shall be expedient, the sovereign shall move his most noble person thereto, as the clause is expressed. The very conflicts of some writers against such ordinances prove their spirit, and value; and a degree of bigotry must be required, not to perceive the preeminence of the legislative power above the executive.

The Scottish parliaments are soon to become more rare, and less worthy of historical commemoration: a few further notices shall therefore be extracted from the acts of the present national council. In the burghs, the objects of great attention to a friend of freedom, all leagues are prohibited, and no burghers is allowed to ride in warlike attire, except with the king or the legal officers: regulations concerning the due management of their revenues are also instituted. To provide a proper public force, it is decreed that regular *weapon-schawings*, or displays of arms, be held four times in the year; and the different armour of each rank, and the penalties of failure are distinctly specified. The yeomen, from the age of sixteen to that of sixty, are among other weapons to bear the quiver and the bow; but these instruments were to continue the pride of England, and the fatal neglect of Scotland.

25 June The pontiff, Innocent VIII, expedited a rescript to the abbots of Paisley and Jedburgh, and the chancellor of the see

^s Acts, f. 90—94. Douglas Peer. 434, mentions a GENERAL ACT OF INDEMNITY as having been now issued.

of Glasgow, empowering them to absolve those who had ¹⁴⁹¹ arisen against James III, and professed repentance: from this mandate it appears that some of the spiritual lords were concerned in the insurrection, but they are unmentioned by our historians⁶. About the same time Andrew Forman, a Scottishman, one of the papal protonotaries, arrived with an exhortatory epistle to the young monarch, persuading him to persevere, not in sorrow and anxiety, but in honour, virtue, and religion.

A truce of five years was concluded between England and ^{21 Dec.} Scotland, by the plenipotentiaries who met at Coldstream on the Tweed. Instead of conservators a new form is prescribed; certain lords spiritual and temporal, of both nations, being named, who were to set their seals to the ratification of their respective sovereigns⁷. But this treaty was vague, and never fully ratified on the part of James.

To enforce the preservation of the truce, Henry appointed ¹⁴⁹² commissioners to adjust any casual infraction, and to provide ^{22 Aug.} against such incidents for the future: an example which was soon after followed by the Scottish king⁸. Oct.

Eager to secure a matrimonial alliance with Scotland, Henry ¹⁴⁹³ empowered embassadors to negotiate a marriage between James, ^{May} and Catherine daughter of Eleonora countess of Wiltshire,

⁶ See it in Innes, II, 837. Drummond 126 erroneously ascribes those writings to Alexander VI, (Aug. 1492—1503;) whose exhortations to repentance would have been truly ludicrous.

⁷ Rymer, XII, 465, 470. Of the 16th Nov. 1491 appear "Articles agreed upon betwixt Sir John Cheney, and Sir Thomas Tyler, knights, for king Henry VII, and Archibald Douglas earl of Angus, and George his son, offensive and defensive." Calendars of ancient Charters, London, 1772, 4to, p. 313. Treason seems to have been long hereditary in the house of Douglas. For Sir Thomas Tyler, read Sir William, as p. 314, and often in Rymer.

⁸ Rymer, XII, 489, &c.

1493 one of the offspring of Henry's uncle, Edmund duke of Somerset⁹. This treaty was ineffectual; but the truce was extended to the last day of April 1501: and Henry paid to James one thousand marks, in compensation of the damages occasioned by the English infringements¹.

25 June

In the next parliament² it was again ordered that the embassy, for the royal marriage, should proceed to France, and other countries; the sum formerly voted for this purpose was enlarged to seven thousand pounds Scottish money, and was, by special clauses, guarded against embezzlement even by the sovereign.

The national council, with a laudable care, protected the privileges of the Scottish church, and endeavoured to preserve its independency from the encroachments of the Roman court. The foreign disposal of elective benefices was annulled; and the immunities of the sees of St. Andrews, and of Glasgow, which, a few years before, had been erected into an archbishopric³, were ratified; these prelates being empowered to confirm the election of abbots within their dioceses, exclusive of any application to Rome. The rival archbishops had brought a plea before the pope concerning their jurisdictions; and it was apprehended that the one or the other party might renounce his immunities, to win the papal favour: the parliament therefore desired the king to interfere, by seizing the temporalities of the discordant prelates, in case they refused to submit to an amicable domestic decision: and a further pu-

⁹ Rymer, XII, 529. Catherine is styled daughter of princess Eleonora, daughter of the late Edmund duke of Somerset, our uncle. The father of Catherine was Sir Robert Spenser. James I had married her grand aunt.

¹ Rymer, XII, 534.

² Acts, f. 94—100.

³ As decreed in parliament Jan. 1489, Carm. 75, and ratified by Innocent VIII, 1491. Chart. Glasg. Keith Bishops, 150.

nishment was held out, if they violated at Rome any statute ¹⁴⁹³ of the realm, or privilege of the Scottish church. By some new and remarkable custom, many processes, even of laics, were dependent at Rome by appeals from the ecclesiastical courts: the three estates recommended to James to command the parties, by his ambassadors, to return, and submit their suits to their ordinaries, or other competent judges. Benefices were guarded from papal exactions: and the former law was revived which prohibited any person from appearing as legate in Scotland, except he were a native, or had attained the rank of cardinal⁴.

These ordinances express dignity and spirit; nor was the prudence of those concerning temporal affairs less conspicuous. Different statutes were enacted for the regulation of manufactures and commerce: and a large and formal revocation was made of all alienations of royal property since the second day of September, in the year fourteen hundred, and eighty-seven; the king having now attained the complete age of twenty-one years. One of the most memorable acts of this parliament regards that neglected mine of wealth, the fishery, an object still in its infancy after an elapse of three centuries: the importance of this decree may well excuse its insertion in modern orthography, but with much of its antique simplicity. "Concerning the great innumerable riches, which are lost, for want of ships, and *busses*, to be employed in fishing, as other realms have, that border on the sea; and for the advantages of *police*, and wealth, to be attained by this mean, and the employment of idlers and vagabonds, who might thus la-

⁴ Many of the ecclesiastic immunities had been ordained by James I; "of maist noble mind," an emphatic expression, like the *Menti Laudandæ* on the coins of Pertinax. James III continues to be mentioned with disrespect by the legislature.

1493 } bour for their livelihood, and for the common profit, and universal good of the realm, it is thought expedient by the lords of the articles, and ordained in this parliament, that there be ships and busses made in, (or furnished by,) all burghs and towns, within this realm; and that the least of the said ships and busses be of twenty tons. That these vessels be furnished according to the wealth of each town, in the number after mentioned⁵; be well equipped with all necessaries, with mariners, nets, and proper instruments for taking large fish and small; and be ready to pass to the fishery by shrove-tuesday next. That in every burgh of regality the officers cause all stout idle men to pass in these vessels for wages, and if they refuse banish them from the burgh: that in those burghs of barony, which are situated near the sea, the sheriffs pursue the same course; and upon failure the negligent officer, or sheriff, shall pay a fine of twenty pounds in the royal exchequer⁶." Such is this remarkable statute; which, notwithstanding its strength, appears to have produced no effect.

1494 } Except some minute negotiations with England, no incident worth mention arises till the appearance of another parliament⁷; after which, from whatever cause, none of these assemblies occur for the space of eight years. The laws concerning benefices were confirmed, and enlarged: and the exorbitant prices, charged by the craftsmen, were ordered to be reduced upon a due consideration of the value of materials,

⁵ This number unhappily does not appear.

⁶ Acts, f. 98.

⁷ Ibid. f. v. 100. Granger, cont. of Maitland, II, 716, ascribes the acts of this parliament to 1496; but the edition called the Black Acts is far from infallible in its dates. Murray of Glendook, f. 95, ascribes this parliament to 1494. Carmichael's Tracts indicate no parliament of 1496: Abercromby, II, 500, abides by 1494. Lesley, 333, assigns the famous statute of education to 1493.

and the price of provisions. This parliament derives singular honour from the celebrated statute concerning education, which ¹⁴⁹⁴ is of the following purport. “ It is ordained through all the realm that all barons, and substantial freeholders, put their eldest sons and heirs, to the schools, at the age of six, or at the utmost nine years; who are to remain at the grammar schools, till they have a competent foundation, and good skill in latin. After which they are to study three years in the schools of arts and laws: so that they may have knowledge in the laws, and by this mean justice be distributed through all the realm: those who become sheriffs, or judges ordinary, having proper understanding, and the poor being under no necessity of recourse to high courts for every small injury. Any baron, or freeholder, failing without just cause, is to incur a penalty of twenty pounds⁸.” This act appears to have contributed towards the advancement of learning in Scotland, which the invention of printing now disseminated quickly over Europe: the names of bishop Elphinston and Gawin Douglas honour this period; but any further consideration of the subject is reserved for a subsequent division of this work.

Meanwhile the state of Scotland was not a little prosperous. Free from foreign war, and blessed with a degree of internal tranquillity long unknown, the king, the nobles, the people, were united in mutual attachment and confidence. The liberality of James formed a pleasing contrast to the sordid disposition of his father: and, instead of mean favourites the scourges of the people, his court was crowded with faithful peers, whose hereditary wealth at least exempted them from the baseness of avarice, and the atrocity of vulgar oppression. Their rank was founded upon honour; and honour may often supply the

⁸ Acts, f. 101.

1494 defect of virtue, while conscious vileness stoops to every crime. The favour, and attention, of the sovereign, were equalled by the affection, and duty, of the nobles; who, from proud potentates, became loyal courtiers. To encourage this reformation, now gradually advancing with the progress of refinement, the magnificence of James established frequent tournaments; in which the arms of warlike peers, often in former times the terror of the monarch, were now exhibited for his amusement. The young king, himself eminent in arms, and inflamed with the spirit of chivalry, and love of glory, delighted to behold and to reward martial skill. He repeatedly invited by proclamation the earls, barons, and knights, to tournaments, and other warlike exercises; and at the appointed place, which was generally Edinburgh the capital city, some ran with spears, others fought with the battle-ax, others with two handed swords; while some shot at marks with the bow, cross-bow, or culverin. In whatever weapon each victor excelled, he received one of the same kind richly ornamented; and the heralds proclaimed his merit amid shouts of applause. The voice of chivalry resounded over Europe the fame of the Scottish court: and many an errant knight came from distant countries, to engage in this theatre of renown⁹.

Nor was James less popular among the nation at large, who esteemed his regal spirit; and loved his amiable appearance, and qualities, and even his wildness of youth. Sometimes he would travel, disguised and unknown, through a great part of his kingdom, and lodge in the hovels of the poor; where he would provoke the voice of truth, so odious to royal ears, by questions concerning his own character, and conduct, without any dread or anxiety at thus learning his reputation from

⁹ Lindsay, 159, 160.

the universal voice. In these rambles he disdained not to shew ¹⁴⁹⁴ his knowledge of medicine, and surgery; in which arts the rudeness of his kingdom afforded no superior¹. He had all that love of music, poetry, and the arts and sciences in general, which was hereditary in the house of Stuart. From a curiosity, inherent to such a laudable disposition, he caused a human monster, born in his dominions with a duplicate body above the waist, to be taught many languages, with music, and singing; so that it could perform both treble and tenor at once. To make some discovery on the origin of language, two infants under the charge of a dumb woman were sent into the isle of Inch Keith: but the self-taught speech has not been explained; and it is needless to add that it must have been original, and perhaps though there was some society, little superior to the brutish babble of those unfortunate beings, lost during their infancy in extensive forests².

The youthful and vague amours of James rendered him ¹⁴⁹⁵ little desirous of a speedy marriage; and his spirit of chivalry was to plunge his kingdom into two impolitic, and unnecessary, wars with England; the latter of which received a dreadful expiation in his blood, and that of most of his nobles. A negotiation was apparently now at issue between James, and the high-spirited duchess dowager of Burgundy, sister of Edward IV, who, with the female arts afterwards successfully practised by the French queen, appealed to the knighthood of the Scottish sovereign, in defence of the distressed. It is most probable

¹ Lindsay, 159, 162. Buch. XIII, 42. ² Id. 160, 162. Buch. XIII, 7.

Of the 26th March 1494 appears an indenture between the bishop of St. Asaph, Thomas lord Dacre, John Heron of Ford lieutenant of the eastern and middle marches; and the bishop of Dunkeld, lord Borthwick, &c. concerning Canonby in the debateable lands. Cal. B. VII, 163. Other minute transactions may be seen in Redpath, 465.

1495 that gold was also effectual, in exciting James to the romantic design of raising Perkin Warbec, or Richard duke of York son of Edward IV, to the English throne. Anxious to prevent
 June this treaty, Henry VII appointed commissioners, not only to prolong the truce with James during their lives, but to offer his infant daughter Margaret, now only six years of age, in marriage to the king of Scotland³. This proposal was neglected: and it was little probable that James should wait for so immature a bride; but, eight years afterwards, this event took place, to the surprize and lasting advantage of both kingdoms.

1496 The story of Perkin Warbec, or Richard duke of York, is so well known that it is unnecessary to expatiate on a subject more properly belonging to English history; nor shall any discussion be here attempted of the arguments for, and against, his being the real son of Edward IV. It is particularly unnecessary to make an excursion from the history of Scotland, in search of difficulties; and it shall suffice to commence with the arrival of Perkin at the court of James, which happened this year. The pretender brought letters of powerful recommendation from Charles VIII of France, and from Maximilian king of the Romans. Attended by an opulent equipage, and honourable train of foreigners, his majestic elegance of person, and manners, conspired to secure the favour of a youthful sovereign, warmly open to the impressions of external splendor. Perkin represented himself as the second son of Edward IV, whom the remorse of assassins, sated with the blood of his elder brother, had permitted, and assisted, to

³ Rymer, XII, 572. In March Henry had issued a commission to SURREY, to array the northern counties against any attempt of his enemies *from Scotland or other parts*, ib. 568; but it appears not that Henry yet expected that James would assist Warbeck.

escape to the continent. Sensible of the truth of his report, ¹⁴⁹⁶ or misled by appearance, or desirous to increase the importance and danger of a pretended rival to the English king, James assigned to Perkin in marriage the lady Catherine Gordon, daughter of the earl of Huntley; who united to her connection with the royal blood the praise of eminent merit, and beauty*.

The most curious, and authentic, intelligence concerning the preparations of James in support of Warbec, may be found in two original letters to Henry VII, from a spy whom he employed in the Scottish court. This spy was no other than the favourite of the late king; John Ramsay styling himself lord Bothwell, but only acknowledged as *laird* of Balmain in Scotland, whither he had ventured to return, amidst the general indulgence shewn by James to the friends of his father.

In his first letter⁵, Ramsay informs Henry that he had re- 8 Sept.
visited the Scottish court solely for his service, and had often solicited James and his peers to abandon their support of "this feigned boy⁶:" that James was to advance to Ellam-kirk with his army, accompanied by Perkin and his few troops, amounting to 1400 of all nations; and the Scottish king had determined to invade England on the seventeenth of September, in opposition to the wishes of the barons and people: but Ramsay hopes he will be punished for his *cruel consent* to the murder of his father. James had required Perkin to deliver up Berwick, and the seven sherriffdoms⁷; and to pay, within five years after his establishment on the throne, the sum of one hundred thousand marks. Perkin demurred, but offered Berwick, and fifty thousand marks to be paid in two years.

* Less. 335. Stewart Gen. 65.

⁵ O. Vesp. C. XVI, 23, f. 152, Berwick 8th September; well written, and apparently by Bothwell himself. James III was the friend of men of education.

⁶ Literatim "this fenyt boy." ⁷ Their names are unmentioned.

1496 Ramfay proceeds to inform Henry that he was present at the reception of Concreffault⁸, the French embassador, who advised the continuance of peace between Scotland and England, but James complained of the ravages on the borders and the loss of his ships: that Sir George Neville had joined Perkin: that James was not possessed of one hundred pounds in money, till now that he had coined his chains and plate. He also states that the Scots were discontented; and many of the late king's servants wished to revenge his death⁹: that Rodyk de Lalane had arrived from Flanders, with two small vessels, and sixty Germans, in aid of Perkin: that as the inhabitants of the sea-ports were with James, it would be easy for the English navy to destroy the maritime towns, and ships; and that the Scottish artillery remains at Edinburgh¹. Ramfay concludes with advising Henry to attack the Scottish army from behind.

The second letter² bears that Buchan was to undertake the matter recommended by Henry; that all were now encamped in tents, but Ramfay had passed to St. Andrews, and presented the cross-bow sent by Henry to the king's brother, who promised to serve the English king, and not to join the army; the bishop of Moray³ was occupied in persuading the prince

⁸ Monipeny of Concreffault in Berry, of Scottish extract. See Hist. de Berry par Thaumassiere above quoted.

⁹ Would see *remedy* of his death.

¹ It only consisted of two great *curtaldis* sent from France, ten falcons, thirty iron cart guns, and sixteen carts for powder and *stones*, (the balls being then of stone.)

² O. Cal. C. XVI, 24, f. 154, no date.

³ "And now my lord of Murray passis our to him, gyff the king cummis to this journey, (as I dout nocht he will, incontrair his barronis willis, and all his hail people;) and my lord vill solist this young prince to cum to your graice." There was no earl of Moray 1455—1501; this must be the bishop of Moray, Andrew Stuart grand-uncle to the king.

to leave Scotland, and escape to the English court: that, on ¹⁴⁹⁶ the twenty-eighth of August, a messenger had arrived from Dacre's brother to Perkin, and many of the common people of Northumberland had joined this pretender: but that if Henry will send an able general, more advantage may be gained over Scotland than any English monarch could aspire to, for these hundred years.

Such are these singular letters, which it must be remembered are written by a violent enemy of James.

Though the season was far advanced, James resolved to avail himself of the first impressions; and to try the disposition of the English in favour of the candidate for the crown. With this view he raised a considerable force, and entered Northumberland; where Perkin issued a manifesto, offering deliverance from tyranny, and general amnesty, to his presumed subjects, with a high reward for the capture, or slaughter, of Henry Tudor. But the English were completely fatiated with civil wars; and refused to join the dangerous standard of an antient foe, and of a dubious prince. The Scottish king, satisfied with having shewn the candidate to his people, and to fortune, was convinced that the scheme was hopeless; and became irritated by the failure of his design. In revenge, he plundered the country, or laid it under contribution. Perkin, either from just feelings, or just dissimulation, eagerly interfered, remonstrating that he would not desire even to secure the crown, at the expence of the blood, and wealth, of his people. James retorted with a sneer, "You are too careful of a nation, which acknowledges you neither for a king nor a subject; and which is wholly devoted to your chief enemy." After considerable depredations, the Scottish army returned loaded with booty⁴.

Henry

⁴ Less. 335, Buch. XIII, 14. Lindsay has unaccountable omissions, and the events 1490—1503 are wanting. So vague and meagre are the English histories

1496 Henry had so little expected this attack, that, in September, he had repeated his commission for the marriage of his daughter to James⁵. But the impetuosity of the Scottish monarch defied the dictates of cool policy, which supposes an antagonist possessed of wisdom, and an attention to his own interest, and is often unguarded against rash imprudence. The season of winter forbad immediate reprisals: and the English king, in the mean time, called a parliament, and procured supplies for future vengeance⁶.

1497 Sir Thomas Dacre was appointed by Henry his lieutenant
13 Feb. in the north, to defend that region against the Scots; whose king, as expressed in the royal commission, had invaded England with a great army of rebels, and traitors, and, without commiseration of age or sex, had killed, plundered, seized fortresses, and given villages to the flames⁷. Thomas Howard earl of Surrey, a nobleman pardoned by Henry VII after the battle of Bosworth, and who was long to be a scourge of the Scots, had orders to collect a large array for the retaliation of the Scottish invasion; but his march from Yorkshire was countermanded on account of an insurrection in Cornwall, occasioned by the avaricious taxes of Henry, increased by the war. The insurgents joined lord Audley at Wells, and advanced into Kent; where they were soon afterwards defeated, and dispersed⁸. Yet James seized the opportunity of this commotion

histories of this period, that the precise dates of this expedition are unnoted. Redpath, 467, is strangely defective in an event so connected with his design.

Compare Polyd. Virg. XXVI, p. 597, ed. 1570. Hall 11 H 7. (should be beginning of 12 H 7.) Fabian II, 231. Holinshed, III, p. 1445. The manifesto of Perkin may be found in Carte II, 348, 349.

⁵ Rymer, XII, 625, 2d Sept. ⁶ Bacon hist. of Henry VII, 617.

⁷ Rymer, XII, 647. The invasion of James is said to have been "jamdudum," some time ago.

⁸ Bacon, ib. About twenty years after these events, Cardinal Wolsey consulted Fox, then bishop of Winchester, concerning the plans of Henry in the Scottish

tion to form another invasion: and, after extensive depredations, he laid siege to the castle of Norham. This fortress, ¹⁴⁹⁷
^{July} having been recently supplied with the exigencies of a siege by the care of Fox the bishop of Durham its proprietor, was defended till Surrey advanced with a superior force, upon which the Scots retired⁹. The English general entered Scotland; but retreated after taking the castle of Aytoun¹. It is probable that Henry, persisting in his patriotic views of a matrimonial connection with Scotland, perceived that the warmth of James must soon expire, if left without materials of irritation; and therefore commanded Surrey to use moderate hostilities. Perhaps the recent insurrection, and the imminent hazards of a defeat to the unpopular arms of Henry, while a pretender was ready to avail himself of every advantage, might well induce great prudence and apprehension.

However this be, such was the close of this war; which, on the part of James, now appears romantic and unwise; but has some claim to prudence, when compared with that which terminated his reign. The unpopularity of Henry's government, and the tried affection of the English to the house of York, might infer a degree of certainty to the design; and James had doubtless stipulated great concessions to his kingdom. But he was unaware of the many artful chains, by which Henry had fixed the pavilion of his royalty against the tempest of commotion; unaware of that increase in the wealth and power of England, which enabled her sovereigns to delegate a Scottish war to a lieutenant, instead of honouring it, as in former times, with personal rivalry.

Scottish war. The bishop only answers that Henry had intended a strong invasion, but was prevented by the insurrections in Cornwall and Devon. O. Winchester to Wolfey, Cal. B. VI, 249.

⁹ Less. 335. Buch. XIII, 16. ¹ Buch. ib.

1497 — On the fifth of July Henry had issued his instructions to the bishop of Durham, to represent to James, that the offers of Angus and Home, at Jenynhaugh, were insufficient: to desire that Perkin be given up, not on account of any estimation in which Henry held him, but as a *rebel*, and the cause of the war: if Perkin be not yielded, the bishop is to insist that not only an embassy, consisting of the bishop of Moray, Angus, and Home, be sent to England, but that James shall proceed to Newcastle to meet Henry, and form a stricter alliance; on which conditions the English navy, then at sea, was to be recalled, though equipped at great expence². But this negotiation was ineffectual.

Spain being the ally of both kingdoms, Pedro d'Ayala³, the ambassador of Ferdinand and Isabella at the English court, undertook to negotiate a treaty. Having also credentials to James, he passed to that prince; and having induced him to an accommodation, obtained the appointment of commissioners 30 Sept. on both sides. A truce of seven years was concluded at Aytoun: and soon after it was agreed by d'Ayala, who had obtained the confidence of James so far as to be nominated his sole commissioner, and by William Warham, for the English king, that the truce should exist during the lives of both monarchs, and a year after the death of the survivor⁴. Perkin's cause was as hastily abandoned as it had been adopted: but James rejected the meanness of surrendering him, as demanded; and furnished him with vessels and necessaries. The unfortu-

² C. Vesp. C. XVI, f. 141, 5 July 12 H 7. Angus, now chancellor, (1493—1498 Crawf. Off. 55,) and Home, were palpably in the English interests: the bishop of Moray was Andrew Stuart, third son of the widow of James I by her second marriage. Keith Bishops, 86. See the preceding year.

³ Perhaps a descendant of the Spanish historian, whose work was lately published at Madrid, 4to.

⁴ Rymer XII, 673, 722.

nate prince, or adventurer, proceeded to Ireland, and thence ¹⁴⁹⁷ to Cornwall, where he joined some insurgents; and, about two years after he had left Scotland, he was executed at Tyburn. His wife, who had faithfully accompanied his dangers, was an object of compassion and admiration. After the capture of her husband, Henry summoned her from St. Michael's mount in Cornwall, where she had taken refuge, for he was anxious lest her pregnancy might occasion repeated tumults: but his apprehensions were vain. Struck with her beauty, and virtues, he recommended her to the charge of his queen; and assigned her a pension, which she enjoyed many years after his death, the popular voice applying to her elegant form the title of the White Rose, the badge of her husband's claim.

* Lessl. 337. Stewart Gen. 65, says that she afterwards married Sir Matthew Cradock of Wales, an ancestor of the Pembroke family.

Benoit André of Tholouse, historiographer and poet laureat to Henry VII, has written a panegyric on that monarch, Jul. A. IV, and an imperfect narrative of his reign. The part Domit. A. XVIII, extends from 1485 to 1498; that marked Julius A. III, is the conclusion, and hardly contains two years 1507, 1508.

In Domit. A. XVIII, he informs us that he had been tutor to prince Arthur for four years, was now blind, and composed that part in 1500. He says Richard III ordered the murder of the sons of Edward IV, "*ferro feriri iussit.*" He intersperses many poems and orations; among the former is one on the murder of Northumberland by the rebels. Perkin he regards as an impostor, but excuses James, "*Rex errore deceptus, ut plerique alii, etiam prudentissimi, autem principes.*" After mentioning Warbeck's capture he adds, "*Conjux illius modesto venustoque vultu, egregia forma, atque ætate integra, in regium conspectum, magno cum rubore, et obortis lachrymis, producta est. Cui rex benignissimus humanissimo sic protulit ore.*" Then an oration, as usual; after which Henry sends her to the queen. This part closes three leaves after, with a speech of Henry to the rebels of Cornwall. It is surprizing that he is silent concerning the Scottish invasion, but his work has many chasms. Here he is too rhetorical: in Julius A. III too minute. The real manner of history he never attained.

1497

This year that deplorable contagion, which corrupts the sources of pleasure and of generation, first appeared in Scotland; and an order of the magistrates of Edinburgh is preserved, enjoining the infected to pass to the little isle of Inch Keith, in the firth of the Forth⁶. It is probable that the strangers, who attended Perkin, first imported this disorder; and the epoch deserves a place in history, which is often only a record of human misery.

1498

The amity, which had been established between Henry and James, was in danger of a speedy interruption from an accidental cause. Some Scottish youths visiting the town of Norham, which was only divided from their country by the easy passage of the Tweed, a dispute arose between them and the garrison of the castle, who accused them of being spies. A skirmish followed, in which several were wounded on both sides; and the Scots, who were inferior in number, were forced to retire, leaving some of their companions on the field. The matter being agitated in the warden courts without success, James became enraged at the supposed perfidy; and dispatched a herald to the English court, denouncing immediate war, in case satisfaction were not made for the injury. Henry's phlegmatic temper was fortunately opposed to the warmth of James; and he explicitly declared the innocence of his intentions, and his wish to punish the guilty. But the impetuosity of the Scottish king was increased by the necessary delay, and was with difficulty appeased by the insinuation, and submissions, of Fox the bishop of Durham, to whom the castle belonged⁷.

This

⁶ Arnot's Edinburgh, p. 260 from the Council Register, I, 33, Sept. 22, 1497. It is called the *grand-gore*: so Bouchet Ann. d'Aq. f. 180, "la grant gorre, parce qu'elle se prenoit aux plus gorgias."

⁷ Lest. 337. Buch. XIII, 19, 20. Holinshed III, 1452. A defensive alliance was this year concluded, between France, Denmark and Scotland, Louis

This incident delayed the ratification of the truce, concluded 1499 between the two monarchs for their lives as above mentioned: but Henry now sent Robert Rydon, vice admiral of his kingdom, to the Scottish court; and the treaty was compleated by 20 July the plenary consent of James, and soon after by that of Henry⁸. 8 Sept.

The perseverance of the English king, and perhaps his pecuniary influence over the Scottish ministry, at last prevailed upon James to hearken to the proposal of a connubial alliance. The bishop of Durham, whose eloquence and talents had rendered him acceptable with the king of Scotland, was nominated by Henry to conduct this important negotiation⁹; but its progress, and completion, shall be reserved till the queen's arrival in Scotland, four years after this period. 11 Sept.

It is pleasing to diversify the repeated series of wars, and 1500 negotiations, by some attention to the arts of peace. Among these the progress of science is peculiarly important, and interesting: and it must not be omitted that, in this year, which commences a century of illumination, a third university, that of Aberdeen, was opened in Scotland. William Elphinston, the learned bishop of that see, was the founder of this edifice: the bull of erection and privileges had been obtained from Alexander VI, in 1494; but the mansion was not completed, nor the education begun till the present year¹. Elphinston was excited to this laudable design, not only from a desire to

Louis XII, John, and James IV. Mallet Abr. I, 166. See Du Tillet 152. But, at Henry's desire, the solemn alliance with France was not renewed by James.

⁸ Rymer, XII, 722.

⁹ Ibid. 729.

¹ Crawf. Off. 51, (a misplaced life, as Elphinston was only chancellor for a few months in 1488, ib. 50.) Orem's hist. of Aberdeen in Bib. Top. 114. See also Boyce's best work, his lives of the bishops of Aberdeen, Paris 1522, 4to. f. 18—36.

The royal charters of erection of this university, May 1497, and Aug. 1498, are extracted by Scotstarvet in his Calendar s

1500 } propagate science, but in the view of that improvement of manners, which had appeared in the west of Scotland after the foundation of the university of Glasgow. Learning long depressed in that kingdom by unfavourable circumstances, now began to dart deep roots, and to shoot with rapidity. Nor were the native muses silent; for the court of James refounded with the strains of Douglas, Dunbar, and other eminent poets.

1501 About this time it appears that James, in his attachment to chivalry, instituted the badge, perhaps the order, of St. Andrew, or the thistle, fabulously ascribed by antiquaries to periods more remote, while the only doubt of a rational enquirer is whether this monarch, or his successor James V, must be regarded as the founder of this new order of knighthood¹. The obscurity of its origin testifies its want of renown, till it was revived with splendor in the eighteenth century. The earldom of Moray, an important title, vacant as appears since it was forfeited by Archibald Douglas in 1455,

¹ Lesley, lib. IX, p. 439, mentions the order of St. Andrew, as blazoned by James V in 1534, but is silent concerning its origin. The first authentic appearance of the thistle, as a Scottish badge, is in the poem of Dunbar *The Thistle and the Rose* 1503, and in the account of Margaret's reception and wedding, (Lel. IV, 358, &c.) where it is called a *charbon*. In the valuable portraits of our monarchs, published by Jonston in his *Inscriptiones Historicae* Amst. 1602, 4to, James IV appears with the thistle. The date of the garter in 1350, of the golden fleece 1429, of St. Michael the oldest in France 1469. Nisbet *Heraldry*, II, 108, gives a strange chaos of inaccuracy concerning the order of the thistle, which he supposes more ancient than the garter! And he ridiculously confounds the badge of St. Andrew, the tutelary saint of Scotland, with a military order. If coins and portraits, ornamented with favourite saints, were to indicate an order of knighthood, a thousand orders never known might burst into celebrity from the mist of antiquarian reasoning. It is believed that not one knight of the thistle can be mentioned till the present century: the order seems confined to the monarchs.

was now conferred by James upon his natural son by the ¹⁵⁰¹
daughter of lord Kennedy ³.

The final conclusion of the marriage treaty, and perpetual ¹⁵⁰²
peace, with England, contributed to increase the festivity of
the Scottish court, which before exceeded moderation. The
youth, and gallant temper, of James induced him to a display
of magnificence, and a profusion of expenditure, improper for
his own finances, or those of his kingdom. Sums, which
might have contributed much to public utility, were sacrificed
to vain shew, and upon the altar of mercenary beauty. Be-
sides vulgar and fugitive amours, the daughters of the nobles
yielded to his attractions of person and rank: three ladies of
quality produced pledges of his love; and by a fourth, the
daughter of a gentleman of estate, he had two natural chil-
dren, the eldest now in his tenth year ⁴. Among his expences
those of architecture were perhaps the most laudable, the pala-
ces of Stirling and Falkland were adorned and improved: nor
was his natural superstition unemployed in building and en-
larging monasteries, and other religious foundations ⁵, for his
piety, as not unusual, was as violent as his disposition to amo-
rous sin. Yet even his vain magnificence delighted the gene-
ral eye; the people smiled at his pleasures, while they enjoyed
his equitable and prosperous government: and James deserved,
and obtained, the voice of public applause.

³ Scott. Cal. 12 June 1501. Of the 5th May 1501, appears another lease
of Orkney and *Yetland*, for nineteen years, to Henry lord Sinclair at 650 marks.
In 1499, 4 Nov. James granted the lands of Far, and others, in the north west
extremity of Scotland, to *Odo alias Y Mackay* in Strathnavern, for taking Alex-
ander Sutherland and ten other rebels. *Ib.* The lands had belonged to Suther-
land, and laid the foundation of the power of the Mackays, lords Rea, sprung
from the family of Forbes. Douglas Peer. 568, seq.

⁴ Alexander born in 1492, by Mary Boyd daughter of Boyd of Bonshaw.
Stew. Gen. 84.

⁵ Buch. XIII, 21.

BOOK XI.

BEING

THE SECOND, AND LAST, PART OF

THE REIGN OF JAMES IV.

Marriage treaty with England—arrival of Margaret—parliament—regulation of the highlands and isles—other statutes—Aubigny in Scotland—epistles of James—affairs of Europe—king's superstition—connection with Odonnel—embassies—affair with the Dutch—Bartons—Arran imprisoned in England—negotiations—printing—transactions with Henry VIII—affairs of Europe—the great Michael—defeat of Andrew Barton—enmity with England—embassy from France—confederacy against that kingdom—birth of a prince—French league renewed and enlarged—Scotish navy—negotiations—embassy of West—infamy of Forman bishop of Moray—French arts—war with England—Scotish fleet sails—plunders Carrickfergus—letters of James and Henry—James invades England—battle of Flodden, and death of the king.

1503 **A**N event of the greatest importance, in its consequences, adorns the annals of this year. After much negotiation, Margaret, the daughter of Henry VII, at length arrived in Scotland,

Scotland, and was wedded to James ¹. A remote advantage of 1503 this fortunate alliance was, that the two kingdoms, intended ^{8 August} by nature for union and mutual benefits, but which had, from the first dawn of their history, been occupied in the reciprocal destruction of perpetual wars, were to be consolidated into one powerful state; and were at last to perceive that the immutable interests of both were concentrated in eternal amity. This interesting incident therefore well deserves a particular detail; and that law of historical elucidation, which requires that the circumstances of an event be brought into one connected point of view, demanded that the detail should be reserved for this place.

It has been related in the former book that, in September 1499, the Scottish monarch began to accede to the favourite design, long nourished by Henry, of establishing a connubial alliance. Next year, Henry obtained, from Alexander VI, a pontifical dispensation for his daughter's marriage to James, though they were only within the fourth degree of consanguinity ²: and, in October 1501, the nonage of the princess excusing any slowness of procedure, James appointed his plenipotentiaries to conclude the affair; who were Robert archbishop of Glasgow, Patrick earl of Bothwell great admiral of Scotland, and warden of the western marches, and Andrew Forman bishop of Moray ³. The English king nominated the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishop of Winchester, and the earl of Surrey ⁴: and, on the fourth of January 1502, the com-

¹ On the 8th August says Fabian, II, 232. See also Hall, 19 H7. At the end of the new edition of Leland's Collectanea, IV, 258, may be found a minute and curious account of her journey, and wedding, by John Young, Somerset herald, who attended her.

² Rymer, XII, 765.

³ Ib. 776.

⁴ Ib. 787.

1503 } missioners of both kingdoms concluded the following agreement,
at the royal palace of Richmond ⁵.

1. That James shall at Candlemas next, personally or by proxy, marry the princess Margaret, who had attained the nubile age of twelve years on the thirtieth day of last November; and that no exceptions shall be made on account of consanguinity, that bar being removed by the papal dispensation.

2. That the princess shall be conducted into Scotland, at the expence of her father; and shall be delivered to her husband, or to any personages empowered by him to receive her, at Lambertonkirk, about the beginning of September 1503, and not before that time ⁶.

3. That Margaret shall, before the first day of July 1503, receive legal seizin of all the lands, castles, and other possessions, usually held by the queens dowagers of Scotland; and if these be found insufficient to yield a yearly revenue of two thousand pounds sterling, or the then equivalent sum of six thousand pounds Scottish money, her husband shall assign other lands to compensate the deficiency.

4. That the princess shall be allowed to keep at least twenty-four English servants, besides her Scottish domestics: and her whole household shall be maintained, in due splendor, at the expences of her husband, who shall moreover allow her the yearly sum of a thousand pounds Scottish, or five hundred marks sterling, to be paid in equal sums, at the feasts of Easter and Michaelmas, for her private purse.

5. That in case of the death of the king her husband, she may either reside in Scotland, or not, at her pleasure; and her jointure shall, in either event, be punctually paid.

⁵ Rymer, XII, 787—791.

⁶ She arrived in Scotland a month before, but the meaning is that James had no title to demand her till then. See his promise to that effect. Ayloffe's Cal. 314.

6. That

6. That the king her father shall pay, as her dower, thirty ¹⁵⁰³ thousand pieces of gold called angel-nobles, or the equivalent in other English currency; whereof ten thousand are to be paid at Edinburgh, eight days after the consummation of the marriage; other ten thousand at Coldingham on the anniversary of that day 1504; and the last ten thousand before the end of the year 1505⁷.

7. That if Margaret shall die without issue, before the complete payment, the balance shall not be demanded; but if there be progeny the whole shall be paid.

Such was this remarkable treaty, which bears testimony in some clauses to the arts and avarice of Henry VII. In 1474, when money was perhaps more valuable, Edward IV had assigned twenty thousand marks as the portion of his daughter, upon her marriage with the prince of Scotland; and Henry allows only fifteen thousand marks, each angel-noble being worth but half a mark, upon a connubial alliance with the Scottish monarch. This will appear the more remarkable, when we consider that James is bound to renounce all claim to Berwick: and it must be concluded that the gold of England influenced the Scottish ministry and embassy. But the avarice of Henry, absurdly and impolitically displayed in such a critical affair, defeated its own purposes. Had Berwick been restored to Scotland, to which country from its situation on the northern shore of the Tweed, and from long possession it properly belongs; and had the portion of Margaret been more worthy of an English princess, wedded to a king; neither injured pride, nor penurious finances, might have stimulated James to violate the peace, and to return to the ruinous connection with France.

⁷ The sum was small, the angel being 6s. 8d. Yet in the then scarcity of money the portion might equal 100,000l. of modern currency.

1503 No sooner was the agreement of marriage concluded, than the commissioners proceeded to a yet more important negotiation. On the twenty-fourth of the same month of January, 1502, a perpetual peace was concluded between England and Scotland, upon the following terms^{*}.

1. In all times to come there shall be an inviolable peace between the two kings, their heirs, and lawful hereditary successors; and their dominions, and subjects of every denomination.

2. Neither of the said kings, nor of their successors, shall favour rebels against each other, but shall imprison, and deliver them up, if in their power.

3. All safe-conducts, or promises of protection, granted by either king to subjects of the other, of whatever rank, shall be recalled; and never renewed except by consent of their own sovereign, and even in that case for one year only.

4. If either king be attacked, the other shall assist him with as many forces, and as often, as required, provided that the assisting troops be paid by the monarch assailed: nor shall any former league be urged as an obstacle to this agreement.

5. The Scottish king shall not molest, nor besiege, the town, or castle, of Berwick; nor shall their inhabitants disturb the Scottish subjects.

6. The allies of both kings to be comprehended, if they chuse; namely the kings of the Romans, France, Spain, Denmark, and the archduke of Austria, for both; Venice, Ferrara, Savoy, the Hanse Towns, for England: Alsace, Cleves, Brandenburg, for Scotland: their consent to be notified within eight months, else they shall be regarded as excluded: and

^{*} Rymer, XII, 793—798.

either king may assist his ally, if attacked by the other; but not by an invasion of each other's dominions. 1503

7. No violation of this treaty, by the subjects of either realm, shall be construed a decisive infringement; but in case of a delay of redress by either monarch, he whose subjects are injured may grant reprisals, either by land or sea, according to the wrong.

8. The death of James, or Margaret, before marriage, shall not frustrate this pacification, except either of the kings or their heirs shall notify, within two months after such an event, that he withdraws from the treaty: but even in this case the truce of 1499, for the life of the survivor, is to remain in full effect.

9. The successors to either kingdom shall ratify the alliance, within six months after their accession. The contracting kings shall swear observance of this treaty, within three months after the marriage: and, finally, the sanction of the pontiff to this peace shall be obtained before the first of July 1503, and the violator shall incur excommunication.

Thus was a pacification established between England and Scotland, being the first since the year 1332, when Edward III infringed that concluded with Robert I. The nations had suffered one hundred and seventy years of wars, and dubious truces. Untaught by experience, they were again, in the course of ten years, to resume their antient enmity. It was reserved till the age of Elizabeth for the English monarchs to secure an influence in Scotland, sufficient to counterbalance, and overcome, that of France; and this influence was greatly indebted to the protestant faith. Centuries of disappointment had elapsed before England discovered how much the arts of policy are superior to force, and as in these France excelled, it is no wonder that her influence long preponderated. Nor need it

1503 be disguised, in an age when patriotism is a species of merchandize, that half the sums expended by England in war might have secured a perpetual peace: for such are men, that they must often be corrupted, before they will pursue their own political desires, their own interests, and those of their country.

To the character of Henry VII cunning more properly belonged, than wisdom; and even his cunning was often obstructed by his avarice. Did not human affairs so often depend on the caprices of monarchs, it were unworthy of history to observe that this covetous prince sent to the generous James a schedule of the allotments, to be paid to the servants of his daughter. James smiled, and assented⁹. Henry also obtained his request, that the ratification of the league with France, which had not been as usual repeated upon the accession of Louis XII in the year 1498, should be delayed¹; but James solemnly protested against Henry's using the title of king of France in their negotiation².

At length, after a number of tedious formalities, the royal bride, now in her fourteenth year, proceeded to Scotland, and, by a special favour, rather before the time affixed. Her father accompanied her from the palace of Richmond to Colliweston, in Northamptonshire; where he delivered her to the care of the earl of Surrey, who, with a noble and magnificent retinue, attended her journey, and was to present a blooming bride to James, whom he afterwards defeated and flew. In their progress they were met by the archbishop of York, the bishop of Durham, Northumberland, Dacre, and other peers, who accompanied the cavalcade to Lambertonkirk, a place a little to the north of Berwick. Here the archbishop of Glasgow, and

⁹ Rymer, XIII, 12.

¹ Ibid.

² Ib. 43.

the earl of Morton, with a pompous train, received the bride, 1503 and conducted her to Dalkeith; whither James soon proceeded, and whence in a few days she made her solemn entry into Edinburgh. The scenes of splendour which ensued were worthy of the occasion, and of an age of chivalry³. The gorgeous tournaments were invigorated by the valour, and graced by the beauty, of both nations. James himself, emulous of novelty, appeared in the character of the savage knight, attended by highlanders and borderers, who interchanged real wounds and disgusted the spectators with bloody pastime: but the king, as Buchanan remarks, had no occasion to regret the wounds, or the death, of marauders inimical to law and order. Arthur, and his knights of the round table, so familiar to the latter ages of chivalrous fable, also adorned the lists with their ideal personages. The solemnity of this marriage had been appointed so long before, that even foreigners attended the festival: and among these was distinguished a French knight, Anthony D'arcy de la Bastie, who was afterwards warden of the marches of Scotland, till he met with a cruel fate⁴. Successive days

³ Young's account, *Lel.* IV, 258, seq. Surrey, with the archbishop of York, and bishop of Durham, remained till the termination of the festivals. See also *Lesley*, 342. *Buch.* XIII, 21. *Drummond*, 133, 134.

⁴ *Drummond*, 133. A strange confusion with regard to this warrior appears in our writers. Guthrie sagely baptizes him *De la Beauté*, though the *Epist. Reg. Scot.* repeatedly indicate all his names.

The most eminent of the Scottish knights was Sir Patrick Hamilton, apparently legitimate brother of Arran, though unknown to Douglas, and our other inaccurate genealogists. *Lindsay*, 161, 187, 188, &c. repeatedly calls him brother of Arran; and particularly p. 162, explains his affinity with the king. That he was a legitimate brother is confirmed by *Lesley*, 394, *Buchanan*, XIV, 12, Young in his account, and *Benoit André*, *Julius A.* III, Jan. 1508, May, *ib.* Nay in April 1498 appears a charter to Patrick Hamilton, *brother german* of James lord Hamilton. *Scotst. Cal.* This celebrated man, who would do honour

1503 days of pleasure were diversified with public shews, the feast, the carousal, and the dance. The English added to the entertainments the exhibition of those rude interludes called moralities⁵: nor were the Scottish muses silent, for Dunbar, a poet of deserved reputation, celebrated the nuptials in an allegory of no mean beauty, intituled the Thistle and the Rose. The guests were at length permitted to depart, fatiated with pomp and pleasure, with royal generosity, and Scottish hospitality.

1504
11 Mar. A parliament assembled at Edinburgh, being the last worthy of notice in this reign; but which deserves immortal reputation, from the prudence, and public spirit, of its decrees; the important tendency of which towards national improvement, and civilization, may well attract the utmost attention of the historian⁶.

Among honour to any family, was slain in 1520, (see reign of James V.) He was, if not by a former marriage, the second son of James second lord Hamilton, by Mary sister of James III. His father died in 1479, (Douglas, 330;) his brother was created earl of Arran 13th Aug. 1503, says Young, who was present, and who adds that Montrose and Glencairn were also then created, the latter title had therefore been abolished in 1488 with other concessions of James III; the patent of lord Graham of Kincardine, as earl of Montrose, appears not till 3d March 1504. Douglas 483.

In 1491 Scotstarvet records, the confirmation of a charter 1473, to John, Patrick, and David Hamiltons *bastard* sons of James lord Hamilton of the lands of Candore, Draphan, &c. But this Patrick must not be confounded with the former, who called James, natural son of Arran his brother, a bastard in contempt, (Lindsay, 188,) a term he would hardly have used had he been one himself. Scotstarvet in Jan. 1513, mentions a charter to Arran, his only natural son Sir James Hamilton of Finnart; then to Arran's *brothers* Sir Patrick Hamilton, of Kincavel, and John Hamilton of Broomhill; and a legitimation to these three "my lord's bastards."

⁵ Young's account. The John Inglish and his companions, who acted moralities, was surely the "Johannes and his company," who attended Margaret from Colliweston.

⁶ Acts, f. 102—110. The date further appears from the confirmation of the endowed lands to Margaret, issued in this parliament, Rymer, XIII, 92; and from

Among the numerous statutes of this celebrated parliament, ¹⁵⁰⁴ the most interesting are those calculated to dissipate the barbarism of the highlands and isles. John, lord of the Isles, had been deprived of the earldom of Ross in the year 1476, as before related, and that earldom was irrecoverably annexed to the crown: but, in 1480, that despot had entered into negotiations with England, and was summoned by the Scottish parliament to answer for his conduct. The succeeding commotions of the weak reign of James III prevented any further procedure: but James IV was no sooner arrived at complete majority, and capable of revoking any imprudent concession of his father, than a forfeiture of the Isles was issued against John, as appears from many charters under the great seal, between the years 1490 and 1498⁷. Angus, natural son of John, had been declared heir of the Isles in the royal grant of 1476, if his father had no legal issue⁸: and Donald, a natural son of Angus, usurping the title of lord of the Isles, he, with Maclean and other abettors, were forfeited in 1503⁹. Thus at length the Hebrides became the indisputable property of the crown; an event of great importance, and, after the vain efforts of many monarchs, reserved for the present reign.

The parliament therefore exerted its earliest efforts to introduce law, and civilization, into the unhappy highlands and isles: and the first statute for this salutary purpose is conceived

from the roll, *Carm. Tracts*, 91. Granger, with his wonted confusion and inaccuracy, dates it March 1503, unaware of the change of style. Guthrie follows as usual.

⁷ *Scott. Cal.* The first that occurs is of Aug. 1493: the revocation of James in parliament was of June that year. No new cause of forfeiture appears.

⁸ *Dougl. Peer.* 362.

⁹ *Ibid.* and in Oct. 1505 the forfeiture of Torgil Macleod appears, for assisting Donald bastard of Angus, bastard of John. *Carm. Tracts*, 85.

in

1504 in the following terms. “ Because there has been great abuse of justice in the northern and western parts of the realm, particularly the northern and southern isles¹, for want of *justice-airs*, justices, and sheriffs, by which defect the people are almost become savage²; it is therefore ordained, in the design of restoring their tranquillity by the administration of justice, that there be in future justices and sheriffs appointed for these parts in the manner following. That the justices and sheriffs of the northern isles have their courts at Inverness, or at Dingwall, as the situation of the suit, and parties, may demand: and that another justice or sheriff be appointed for the southern isles, and neighbouring region, whose court shall be held in the Tarbat of Loch Kinkoran, upon every due occasion³.” The next act decrees that those parts of the highlands called Dowart and Glentowart, lying between Lorn and Badenoch, and the lordship of Lorn, all which had been unaccustomed to acknowledge any courts of justice, should attend those held at Perth: that, of the other parts, Argyle, Mawmor, and Lochaber, which were in the like predicament, the two latter should follow the courts of Inverness, the former those of Perth, where justice was to be administered in suits between highlanders and lowlanders, and where a special judge for Argyle was to reside. The inhabitants of part of Cowal, not comprehended in Argyle, were to attend at Dunbarton: and those of Knapdale and Kintyre were to join the people of Bute, Arran, and Cumbra, in their attendance at Air or Rothsay. By another statute⁴ it is ordained that all the subjects, and especially those

¹ That is the Orkneys, and *Sudoreys* (or Hebudes), so called by the Norwegians as being to the south of their possessions.

² “ Almaist gane wyld.” Acts, f. v. 102, c. 93.

³ Campbell-town afterwards arose upon the spot.

⁴ Acts, f. 106, c. 114; c. 79 in Murray's edition.

of the isles, be ruled by the ordinances and common law of 1504 the realm, and by no other legislation. As the sheriffdom of Inverness had hitherto extended its jurisdiction over Ross and Caithness, an impotent amplitude arising from the inattention of the two latter provinces to legal administration, a sheriff is appointed for Ross, to hold his courts in Tain or Dingwall; and another for Caithness to administer justice at Dornock or Wick⁵.

Such were the statutes formed to introduce law and order into the isles and highlands; godlike efforts, and before which the triumphs of war sink into contempt! The first real acquisition of the western isles, effected by the reigning monarch, excited attention not only to their political situation, but to that of the highlands, a great part of which had been subject to the lords of the isles; and other portions to chiefs, who either affected a savage independence, or from consanguinity, friendship, protection, interest, or language, were led to regard the powerful successors of the insular kings as their only sovereigns. By the ruin therefore of that despotic family not only the western isles, but the highlands, became for the first time really subject to the Scottish government, as the above acts plainly evince. The acquisition of the Hebrides by Alexander III was that of the nominal superiority; the conquest of Argyle by Robert I was fugitive and vain. In the fifteenth century the Stuarts having acquired Lorn by marriage⁶, and the

⁵ But no courts appear for Sutherland and Strathnaver, the wild north-west extremity of Scotland.

⁶ John Stuart of Innermeath married the heiress of John de Argyle, lord Lorn; and appears as lord Lorn in 1404. Douglas, 415. About 1470 the lands, and title, passed to Campbell earl of Argyle. Ib. 416.

The genealogy of the lords of the Isles would require a far more skilful hand than Douglas, who confounds the appellation *De Ila* (of Ilay) with that

1504 the Campbells of Lochaw being created earls of Argyle, the power and possessions of the lords of the isles were by these, and other circumstances, gradually weakened, till at last they were annihilated. But the patriotic efforts of this parliament had little influence over a deeply rooted barbarism. The effectual improvement of the highlands and isles was reserved for the eighteenth, and the following centuries: may it proceed, may it prosper, may those regions become the chosen abodes of industry, of art, of opulence; and may fortune recompense the inhabitants, so long to be classed among the most unindustrious, uncivilized, slavish, and unhappy, of mankind, by every accumulation of liberty and felicity.

Other statutes of this remarkable parliament are not unworthy of historical commemoration. It was ordained that a council should sit daily for the administration of justice, as the periods, in which the lords of session sat, were found too brief for that purpose: that the greatest crime should always be specified in remissions, and not veiled under a general pardon for smaller offences: that no forgiveness should be granted for deliberate murder: that notaries should be examined, and severely punished if guilty of falsehood: that, as "the wood of Scotland was utterly destroyed," because the fine in that case was so small, the penalty of five pounds should be incurred for felling, or burning, green wood in future; and that every lord,

of *De Isle*, (of the Isles.) The succession of Argyle and Lorn is peculiarly indistinct. Barbour, b. iii, v. 1, 659; x, 123—130; xv, 305—310, affords passages quite irreconcilable with the careless compilation of Douglas. Barbour's John of Lorn died in prison, XV, 310; and the isles passed, or were assigned by Robert I, to a new branch, Angus of Ilay, (Nº VI in Douglas,) called ANGUS LORD OF ILAY, and Bute by Barbour, XI, 334. His son John of Ilay, in 1354, enters into an agreement with JOHN OF LORN lord of Argyle, (Davidson's Tracts, Edin. 1771, 4to, p. 29,) perhaps the son of Barbour's John. The heiress of the last John wedded Stuart.

and

and land-holder, should plant at least one acre of wood, if ¹⁵⁰⁴ there were no great wood nor forest upon his estate: they are also required to form parks replenished with deer, and to make ponds, rabbit-warrens, dovecots, orchards, and hedges⁷. This statute is not a little singular in the goodness of its intention, and at the same time, in its negligence of the rights of liberty and property: but, as no penalty is mentioned, it may rather be regarded as a public and royal advice. Decrees of this national assembly also bear that, for the preservation of armour, there should be displays of weapons through all Scotland annually, upon thursday in whitsuntide week: that one standard of weights and measures should be observed: that no diffraint should be allowed of the animals, or instruments, of agriculture, if any other effects could be found: that the inhabitants of lands, united to new baronages, should attend the courts of justice to which these baronages owed suit: that the provosts and baillies of burghs be changed yearly; and that none bear municipal offices except those who trade in the burgh: that the burghs, and the merchants, should enjoy their ancient privileges, "granted by our sovereign lord's progenitors, of most noble mind," an emphatical expression, not unused in former statutes. The parliament declares that it shall be lawful for the king to let all his lands *in feu*; and that, for the improvement of the country, all other lords and land-holders, spiritual and temporal, may follow the same mode. This kind of tenure first appears in the acts of 1457: the vassal was exempted from military service, and was only bound to pay a rent in money, or grain, with some agricultural offices to the

⁷ Acts, f. v. 105, c. 109; Murray's edition, c. 74, "anent *policie* to be halden in the cuntrie," that is rural *regulation*: hence seems to have arisen the Scottish term *policy* for parks and pleasure-grounds, a metonymy of the word in the statute.

1504 lords; so that the cultivation of the country was by this practice greatly promoted^s. A general revocation by the king, not only of all grants and gifts, but of all acts of the parliament or general council, prejudicial to the catholic church, his soul, or his crown, closes the statutes of this year. This singular revocation might occasion many reflections on its causes, and on the new power assumed by the sovereign, in the extinction of acts of parliament: but it would be vain to draw principles of government from statutes perpetually at variance on this subject, and indeed formed in an age ignorant of its nature. It may however be remarked that this revocation can hardly refer to the famous act of 1489, authorizing the slaughter of James III, as some suppose; for the king adds that he has commanded all such acts, as fell within his revocation, to be cancelled; whereas the act of 1489 was faithfully preserved, and is printed in the first edition of the ordinances of the Scottish parliaments.

Notwithstanding the particularity with which the transactions of this parliament have been considered, and for which their interesting nature affords a sufficient apology, there yet remain three statutes which must not be past in silence. One of these enforces the observance of the former acts, concerning the vessels to be employed in the fishery; but still it appears not that any effect ensued. The two others relate to the constitution of parliament. By the first it is ordained that no baron, freeholder, nor vassal, whose revenue amounted to less than one hundred marks of the new extent, established in 1424, should be compelled to personal attendance in parliament, except by special mandate from the king, provided they sent representatives; but all possessed of an income, exceeding the

^s Erskine's Principles of Scottish law, 8vo, book ii, tit. 4, § 2.

above sum, are bound to attend the parliament under the ancient penalty⁹. The second is expressed in these terms: "It ¹⁵⁰⁴ is enacted that the commissioners, and chief men, of burghs, be warned when taxes or contributions are given, in order to have their advice therein, as one of the three estates of the realm¹." It shall only be here observed that these acts testify the vague, and unsettled, nature of parliamentary representation, at this period.

The nuptial treaty, and perpetual pacification, with England, appear to have been passed with a singular negligence, on the part of France. Louis XII, occupied successively with the wars of Milan and Naples, could expect little assistance from Scotland in such distant campaigns: and the disposition of Henry VII afforded no reason for France to expect any necessity of the usual Scottish interference in a war with England. The new scene of politics opened to France in the Italian wars, and the settled peace between that kingdom and England, seem to have induced such neglect of her Scottish ally, that the confederation had not been renewed; nor, as appears, even an embassy sent since the accession of Louis XII. Perhaps the amicable disposition of James III towards England, and the dubious politics of his youthful successor, contributed to this indifference: but at length Louis, having lost the kingdom of Naples, became sensible of the value of allies; and, to compensate his negligence, in this, or perhaps the preceding, year, sent an ambassador of high rank and fame, Bernard Stuart

⁹ F. 106, c. 113. Concerning the new extent of 1424 consult Home lord Kaims, Hist. Law Tracts, p. 416, seq. This statute rather tended to enlarge the prerogative; but at the same time it must be considered that attendance on parliament was hardly then esteemed a privilege, but rather as a constrained duty, and great hardship.

¹ F. v. 106, c. 120.

1504 lord Aubigny, the conqueror and governor of Naples in 1501; but who had since been, by his precipitance at the battle of Seminara fought on the 21st of April 1503, the chief cause that the Spaniards gained from France that flourishing kingdom². The purposes of this embassy do not authentically appear, but it may well be conjectured that the renewal of the alliance, and perhaps a procrastinated, and ineffectual, attempt to detach Scotland from English influence, were the chief objects in view³. Aubigny's warlike reputation, and exploits, celebrated over Europe, warmly interested the king; who used to place the veteran at his own table, and, appointing him the judge of his tournaments, added the high appellation of Father of War⁴.

² Guicciardini, lib. V. Aubigny was governor of Naples along with Gilbert de Bourbon duke of Monpensier. Jaligny hist. de Charles VIII, Paris 1684, folio. For his actions consult Guicciardini, Auton hist. de Louis XII, a Godfrey, Paris 1620, 4to, p. 307, 309, &c. Jaligny and other writers. His titles were lord of Aubigny, count de Beaumont, Roger et Bonafre, counsellor and chamberlain to Louis XII, knight of his order, captain of his guard, constable general of Naples. Dunbar ballad to Aubigny, 1504, Scot. Poems, London 1792, Vol. III, p. 136; perhaps the poem was written on his third embassy, 1508, in which year it was printed. The noble family of Lennox, Darnley, Aubigny, deserves particular attention as being, after Mary's reign, the PATERNAL ancestry of the royal line, or in other words the royal branch itself.

Had Aubigny been in Scotland in 1503, it is impossible that he could have remained unnoticed in the minute accounts of the royal marriage. But this second embassy, (see 1484,) in which he was accompanied by Sellat, a French doctor of laws, is often mentioned in the Epist. Reg. Scot. Edin. 1722, 8vo, Vol. I, p. 71, (a letter of 1506,) p. 73, &c. Aubigny was now advanced in years. John Stuart, first lord, was slain in 1429, and was after a long period succeeded by John his son; who in 1482 was followed by his son the celebrated Bernard. The title was afterwards held by Robert, and John, two younger sons of the house of Lennox, &c. Stew. Gen. 152, 153, 154. The genealogy of this interesting family is indebted to the recent labours of Andrew Stuart, esq.

³ From the references to this embassy above stated, and Epist. R. S. I, 115, the first mentioned purpose is evinced.

⁴ Lindsay, 163.

James

James continued to cultivate the amity of England, by interfering with the duke of Gelderland, his relation and ally, ¹⁵⁰⁵ in order to prevent that prince from affording aid, or protection, to Edmund de la Pole, earl of Suffolk, a representative of the house of York, who had been engaged in rebellion against Henry VII⁵. The Scottish monarch, with a laudable ambition, had begun to improve, or rather to create, a maritime power; and as appears from the valuable and elegant epistles, written at his command by Patrick Panter, a man of eminent prudence, and literature, the marine affairs of Scotland attracted a considerable share of the royal attention⁶. From Louis XII James required compensation for the loss sustained by Robert and John Bartons, a name celebrated in the annals of Scottish navigation; who having proceeded with two ships to annoy the English, during the war of 1497, their vessels had been stopped on the coast of Bretagne by the people of that country, and one of them seized⁷. To the magistrates of Dantzic, who sent a similar representation to James, and threatened reprisals on the Scottish vessels which visited the shores of the Baltic, the answer of the king is spirited yet equitable⁸. In the end of this year Alexander lord Home, who was much entrusted by James, died; and was succeeded

⁵ Epist. Reg. Scot. I, 11—16.

⁶ Ib. 16, 17, 19. This elegant collection recalls to memory the epistles of Cassiodorus, dictated by Theodoric. It is to be regretted that Ruddiman, the editor, did not compare the ms. of the first volume, 1505—1524, in the royal library of England, 13 B. II, whence he might not only have corrected some errors, but have enlarged the work one third part, by letters omitted in his ms. The second volume, 1539—1545, (the intermediate volume, 1525—1538, is lost,) might have been equally improved by a collation with the ms. 18 B. VI, which, in addition to the latin epistles, contains numerous letters in English, unknown to Ruddiman.

⁷ Epist. R. S. I, 17.

⁸ Ibid. 19.

1505 by his son Alexander in his office of chamberlain, and in the royal favour⁹.

1506 The power of Scotland, and her influence in the general concerns of Europe, were carried to a great extent, during this reign of an able and beloved monarch. James had warmly interceded with the emperor, and many other potentates, in behalf of Charles duke of Gelderland, who was almost overwhelmed by the unjust claims, and ambition, of the house of Austria. Philip king of Castille, and archduke of Austria, had, to the firm support of his father Maximilian the emperor, united the promised assistance of England in favour of his pretensions¹. But James, by his remonstrances to his father-in-law, prevented this design; and sent Robert Forman dean of Glasgow, and the lion-king-at-arms, to inform the duke of Gelderland of his success; to require the interference of France, and to negotiate with Maximilian². The house of Austria was prevented by France from effectuating its design; and did not acquire Gelderland till more than thirty years after this period, when Charles died without issue³.

The affairs of Sweden presented another sphere of exertion to James. That kingdom, excited by the administrator Suanto Sture, was in a state of open rebellion against its Danish sovereigns. To protect the cause of his ally, John king of Denmark Norway and Sweden, the Scottish monarch dispatched letters of conciliation to the archbishop of Upsal, and the Swedish senate; and to the people of Lubeck, who were about to assist

⁹ Douglas Peer. 345. Elder writers had erroneously supposed the chamberlain of 1488 to have been him who was executed in 1516.

¹ Epist. R. S. I, 21, 30—34.

² Ibid. 40—51. The title of king of the Romans, given to Maximilian, arose from his not having been crowned at Rome. See *L'Art de Verifier les Dates*, p. 451.

³ *Miræi Chron. Belg. Antv.* 1636, folio, p. 304, 305.

O Donnel now requested the assistance of four thousand high-landers: and entreated the king to prohibit the clan Mac Donald, from assisting their enemies⁹. The answer of James is dilatory and dubious; and to the remonstrance of the Irish chief, who being apprehensive that the absence of James might leave his foes at perfect freedom to act against him, had requested the king not to leave his dominions, a reply is given, shewing a fixed resolution to engage in the holy pilgrimage; which however was never undertaken¹. 1506

The warlike pontiff Julius II sent an ambassador to James, with a consecrated hat and sword, as special marks of his regard. In return the king flattered Julius with the vain tidings, received from Denmark, that Russia, her ally, desired to accede 1507
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fence and offence, and in taking a tenure of his lands from the kings of Scotland. Hence Odonnel is termed *subditus* in this letter. An Uchtred O Donnel of Kircudbright appears in the year 1516. Ib. Ware Ant. Hib. p. 216 mentions Odo Odonel the Red, of the county of Donagal, under the year 1473. *Drummangail* it is believed is Donagal.

⁹ An action at Armagh, between the Mac Donalds of Scotland and the O Neils, in 1501, is recorded by Ware Ann. H. VII, p. 75. Odonnel had requested James to send John, son of Alexander Mackeane, (or Mackay, see 1532,) as leader of the 4000. A palpable chasm in the genealogy of the Mackays, Dougl. Peer. 569, may hence be supplied.

¹ Lesley's history, infinitely superior to that of Buchanan, begins at the year 1500 to be very ample and curious: and from it a few events of little moment may here be annotated. Under the year 1505 Lesley mentions the law of recognition, which giving offence was abandoned by James. In 1506 James proceeded on a circuit of justice. After his return, embarking in a large ship built by his orders, his excursion of pleasure nearly terminated in shipwreck. But when Lesley dates the first arrival of D'Arcy in 1506, he errs: and his title of protector of the faith, given by the pope to James, 1507, is a mere invention: nor are any heretics mentioned of the reign of James IV. The original letters evince both the errors.

In Feb. 1506 a parliament met, but its transactions Carm. 85—88 are chiefly private: they terminate the extracts by Sir James Balfour, published by Carmichael.

1506 his finances. To save the disgrace of a reduction in his disbursements, he now projected a pilgrimage to the Holy Land; a design congenial to his natural superstition, which was increased by his apparent guilt in the death of his father⁶. The festivals, and splendid amusements, of James were interspersed with pilgrimages to the shrines of saints, in various parts of his realm: from the gayety of his court, enlivened with the charms of English and Scottish beauty, he would often retire to the gloom of a monastery; and the warrior shared, with the Franciscan friar, the favour of the king. The ridicule of Dunbar the poet, who was himself a debauched saint, testifies that the age was not so rude, as to be insensible of this inconsistency⁷.

It appears that the interest of the Scottish monarchs had favoured the powerful family of O Donnel in the north of Ireland, in their contests with other Irish chiefs, and with the English⁸. In some dispute of the former class, Aod or Hugh
O Donnel

⁶ See the close of the epistle to O Donnel p. 64. Compare Buch. XIII, 23.

⁷ Lesley, 344, 345, narrates the royal pilgrimages to St. Ninian's in Gallogway, and St. Duthac's in Ross. Letters of James in favour of the Franciscan friars, whose special patron he declares himself, occur Epist. 23—29. See Dunbar's poems, "How Dunbar was desyrnt to be ane friar," "Dirge on the king's retirement at Stirling," &c. in lord Hailes's collection, Edin. 1770, and the Maitland Poems, London, 1786. The influence permitted by James IV to this first order of jesuits excited the enmity of his successor, and the latin satire, *Franciscanus*, of Buchanan.

⁸ In the Epist. R. S. 63 the name is spelled *Odompneil*; but from subsequent intercourse of James IV and V, with this family, (see 1531, &c.) it is certain that the O Donnels of the north of Ireland are implied. In Scotstarvet's Calendars, at the end of this reign, appears a letter from James to Odo *Odoneil*, 25 June 1513, assuring him of protection, and aid, with men and ships if necessary, on account of the faithful service to the Scottish king, by the chiefs of the *Connels*, (O Donnels?) and lately by Odo *Odoneil*, father to this Odo, the king's cousin, in defence

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1507 to the latin church; and that the Danish monarch intended to send missionaries into that empire². To Louis XII James now engaged to furnish four thousand auxiliaries for his Italian wars; but the French king having regained Genoa with unexpected facility, declined the aid, with many professions of gratitude³.

If we believe our historians, the people of Holland, at this time subject, with most other provinces of the Netherlands, to the house of Austria, incurred the just resentment of James, by plundering some Scottish ships, and throwing the merchants and mariners into the sea. As this offence was piratical, no remonstrance seems to have been made by James, who suddenly dispatched Barton in a large ship of war: that spirited officer soon effected a retaliation, sent many chests loaded with the heads of the pirates to the Scottish court, and returned with no small booty and renown⁴.

However this be, it appears from an epistle of the king to the emperor Maximilian, that Robert Barton was seized with his ship, the Lion at Campvere in Zealand, upon a remonstrance of the Portugeze, one of whose vessels he had taken. James explains the reason of this capture, which was that, in the year 1476, a Portugeze squadron seized a ship loaded with rich merchandize, commanded by John Barton the father of Robert; in consequence of which letters of reprisal had been granted, and continued to Andrew, Robert and John Bartons, the sons of the sufferer, as no opportunity had occurred of effectuating a retaliation, till this late period⁵. The naval annals of Scotland,

² Epist. R. S. 82, 85.

³ Ibid. 83, 87.

⁴ Lesley, 344.

⁵ Epist. R. S. 88. Campvere, or Vere, is now Ter Veer, five miles north of Middelburg, the staple port of Scotland for some centuries. A letter of James to Emanuel king of Portugal, occurs p. 91; and Lesley p. 351 gives a letter

land, are so barren, that even unimportant information of this ¹⁵⁰⁷ kind becomes interesting from its rarity. Nor may it be unnecessary to add that, two years after this, Emanuel the fortunate king of Portugal, under whose reign such glorious maritime achievements had been performed by Gama, and others, and such new sources of wealth opened to his kingdom, letter from James V to the Portuguese king, on the subject, April 1540, (but for Emanuel put John III. 1521—1557.)

In a ms. in the marquis of Lansdown's library, N^o 198, f. 129, is a copy of the letters of reprisal, granted by James IV to Andrew, Robert, and John Bartons, sons of John Barton, who was captured by the Portuguese, and to their assignees, to seize all Portuguese ships, till repaid 12,000 ducats of Portugal. Given under the privy seal, and sign manual, the 20th Nov. 1506 of his reign the 19th: witnesses James Forman, William Wood, John Douglas, Makadam, *servitoribus nostris*. Not only John Barton the father, about 1470, but all the sons are noted in our naval annals; and an uncle Andrew seems to have existed, as in the reprisals *Andrew* is styled *the younger*: yet perhaps he was the *youngest* son of John, though first mentioned. In 1510 Andrew Barton buys lands; and Robert in Sept. 1511, Scotst. Cal. Nay in 1508 the latter bought Over Barnton, ib. Sir Robert Barton became eminently rich, and was made comptroller of the royal household, in the minority of James V. They in some degree supplied, by Portuguese captures, the want of distant trade; and the blackamoor woman celebrated by Dunbar, (Maitland Poems I, 97,) was among the novelties laid under contribution by the Bartons.

Yet their contemporaries did not hesitate to call them pirates; and the justice of the letters of reprisal, after an interval of thirty years, may be much doubted, both in equity, and in the law of nations. At any rate one prize was sufficient for the injury; and the continuance of their captures, and the repeated demands of our kings, even so late as 1540, cannot be vindicated. Nay these reprisals on Portugal were found so lucrative that, in 1543, Arran the regent gave similar letters to John Barton, grandson of the first John. Epist. R. S. II, 166. These letters bear that Gaspar Apalha was sent to Scotland, in the reign of James V, to have the original cause solemnly tried, and it was given against the Portuguese, who however continued to neglect the payment. Any original documents of the capture by the Portuguese, 1476, would be important, as it led to such great and remote consequences.

In 1563 (Acts, f. v. 179,) Mary formally revoked the letters of marque to the Bartons, because they had been abused into piracy.

dom,

1507 dom, condescended to remit an amicable remonstrance to
 James against these reprizals ⁶.

1508 Jan. The earl of Arran who, with his brother Sir Patrick Hamilton, had in the preceding year passed through England into France, without the knowledge or permission of Henry, was met on his return to Kent by Vaughan, an officer of that suspicious monarch. He was at first treated with distinction, but on his refusal to take an oath, apparently of fidelity, to Henry, he was committed to the custody of a guard ⁷.

March To vindicate his conduct on this occasion, the English monarch dispatched an envoy to his son-in-law. The ambassador informed his sovereign that James was determined that Arran should not take the oath; but he offered to delay the renewal of the league with France, though eagerly solicited by the bishop of Moray, provided that Henry would release Arran ⁸.

Yet

⁶ Epist. R. S. I, 103. Emanuel seems justly to complain that no previous application to his justice had been made.

⁷ Hist. H. VII, a Benedicto Andrea Tholosate, Julius A. III. This part of the work of Benoit André of Tholouse is the most curious, being a diary of the year 1508, which concludes his work. Julius A. IV is only a panegyric of Henry: Dom. A. XVIII commences the history: but the years 1498—1507 seem lost. Nicolson refers erroneously to Julius, B. XII.

André informs us that Arran had, in 1507, distinguished himself in a duel with De la Bastie; as his brother, Sir Patrick Hamilton, had in a conflict with another Frenchman. In Jan. 1508, a Scottish doctor had commented, at St. Paul's church, on the epistles of that apostle: ib. In May Sir Patrick Hamilton, a most famous knight, vanquished an Irish gentleman of eminent skill in arms: and in June the bishop of Moray arrived, to solicit Arran's discharge; but he left London in July after an ineffectual embassy.

From Ayloffe's Calendars, p. 316, it appears that Sir Patrick Hamilton was also imprisoned, but permitted, on the 8th August, to revisit Scotland, on his oath to return if required; and that James earl of Arran, his brother, became surety for him on the 13th Aug.

⁸ Minute of a letter from the ambassador, (Dr. West,) to Henry, no date, Cal. B. VIII, 151. He arrived at Edinburgh on the 28th March, while James

was

Yet the affair was protracted, and the earl was not delivered ¹⁵⁰⁸
till near the end of the year.

Meanwhile Aubigny, and another embassador, with a train ^{21 Mar.}
of eighty horse, arrived in England from France, on their
journey into Scotland⁹. The renewal of the league was the
favourite object of France: but the death of Aubigny, in the
ensuing June, appears to have frustrated the negotiation¹.

The Scottish monarch continued to indulge the splendor of
his court, in frequent tournaments, and other expensive amuse-
ments. But his finances were at the same time more usefully
employed in architecture, in ship-building, and in the impor-
tation of excellent breeds of horses, from various countries,
especially Spain and Poland². It is to be regretted that his
treasury was too penurious to supply the demands of his mu-
nificence: and about this time, instigated perhaps by the ex-
ample of Henry VII, whose extortions under the conduct of
Empson and Dudley had become famous, James ventured
upon new, and invidious, modes of raising money. Among
others, by the advice, as is said, of Elphinston the learned
bishop of Aberdeen, he had recourse to a plan not a little in-
jurious to the nobility, and land-holders. Some of the feudal
usages of Scotland had, from their severity, fallen into long
discontinuance: such were, the sovereign's right to the proceeds
of an estate, during the minority of a proprietor, who held of
the crown, except the necessary expences of his maintenance
was at Wigton in Galloway. Much is said concerning Arran's deliverance;
and Aubigny was daily expected, but James pretended not to know the intent
of his embassy. To the proposition of a meeting, James answered that he
would not advance farther than the borders. Ib.

⁹ André de Tholouse, ib.

¹ Ibid. Epist. R. S. I, 115. Lesley, 347, 348. He died, and was buried,
at Corstorphin near Edinburgh.

² See the letters to the kings of these countries. Ib. 98, 99.

and

1508 and education: the resumption of lands by the superior, in case of any doubt in the title; or if the vassal sold half the estate; or if he allowed two terms to pass, without presenting the usual payment or acknowledgment to his lord. These, and similar dormant claims, were revived by James; and such was his popularity that scarce a murmur ensued; but the generosity of his spirit soon shrunk from these extortions, which were dismissed in oblivion³.

The art of printing, that art which preserves all the others, was now introduced into Scotland. Nor let the page of history, deeply indebted for its fidelity and accuracy to that great invention, refuse to commemorate its progress, which is that of knowledge and philosophy⁴.

1509
22 Apr.

The death of Henry VII of England occasioned a deplorable change in the politics of that country, with regard to Scotland, and other kingdoms. Henry VIII, to the usual ebullition of youth, added a disposition imprudent even to caprice, and haughty even to tyranny. Perpetually deceived by the continental powers, and ever open to new fraud, his reign was one scene of error; and would have met with the execration of his people, had not his very vices established the reformation, and its invaluable advantages, in England. James dispatched Andrew Forman, bishop of Moray, with compliments of condolence and congratulation, and with powers to obtain

³ Lesley, 343, at the year 1505; Buch. XIII, 22. For many minute events of 1508, and the subsequent years, the curious reader may consult Lesley.

⁴ Walter Chepman, a distinguished citizen of Edinburgh, was the first Scottish printer. In 1508 he printed many pamphlets, preserved in one volume in the Advocates Library; and in 1509 the breviary of Aberdeen: after which no evidence of printing in Scotland appears till 1541.

This noble art had passed into Denmark in 1480; Sweden 1483: and was even to visit Iceland in 1529.

a ratification of the alliance; which was soon after solemnly confirmed by the oaths of both monarchs⁵. In the beginning of the following year, Henry also renewed the truce with France, upon the model adopted by his father, which bore that it was to continue till one year after the death of the surviving king⁶. As almost every reign reverses the maxims of the preceding, so it is usual to defer any great alteration for a short space, that the change may not become dangerous by its sudden violence; and Henry's conduct towards Scotland continued, for the two first years of his reign, apparently amicable.

Amid the barrenness of important events, it may be permitted to mention the complaint of Margaret duchess of Savoy, governess of the Netherlands, to James, against the capture of some vessels by Andrew and John Bartons, who were afterwards to furnish one source of the fatal dispute between England and Scotland. But this remonstrance was erroneous, as is evinced by the answer of James: nor had the English per-

⁵ Rymer, XIII, 262, 267. The commission of James, dated 22 July regni 22, may be found in Rymer, X, 376, erroneously ascribed to James I. The Scottish king demands a personal conference with his brother-in-law, which was refused by Henry, who was afterwards repeatedly in vain to solicit James V for the same purpose.

The character of the bishop of Moray was most suspicious, and his preferments in foreign realms shew that he had repeatedly sold his king and country. In 1501, on concluding the marriage treaty, Henry VII gave him the abbey of Cottingham, Keith Bishops, 86; in the Epist. R. S. 110, it is erroneously called *Coldingham in Anglia*: Lindsay, 170, values it at 4000 angels a year. The avarice of Henry is well known; and the gift was certainly for some solid advantage, probably an abatement of the bridal dower. Forman had been protonotary to the infamous Alexander VI, Less. 333: and infinite art must have been used by him in securing the confidence of James, whom he always deceived.

⁶ Rymer, XIII, 270.

1509 haps any reason to impute acts of piracy to those naval officers?⁷
 The Scottish king continued to cultivate the amity of Julius II, who was now engaged with the emperor, France, and Spain, in the famous league of Cambray, against the Venetians: he had prevailed on that pontiff to confirm the donation of the archbishopric of St. Andrews, and the abbey of Dunfermline, to Alexander Stuart, his natural son, who was sent to improve his youth in the studies of Padua: and James now entreated the military pope to annex the priory of Coldingham to the abbey of Dunfermline, upon pretence that, as a frontier place, its prior ought to be a person of eminent power and secure fidelity⁸. This request met with success; and tends in some degree to exculpate James III from a similar measure, concerning that noted priory; but whatever the intentions of that prince were, his conduct upon the occasion was precipitate, and, with the violent effects of open despotism, hastened his unfortunate fate.

1510 The war between John king of Denmark, and his Swedish subjects, still continuing, the Hans Towns, finding their advantageous commerce with Sweden interrupted by the Danish corsairs, entered into the contest in support of the Swedes. Lubeck, long the chief of the Hans Towns, suffered much in this dispute, from its vicinity to Denmark, and applied to the emperor for his interference. Maximilian requested James, as the ally of the Danish monarch, to persuade him to abandon hostilities against the people of Lubeck, and to submit the difference to the imperial decision. The answer of James is respectful, yet firm: he represents that he, and the French king, had formerly mediated between the parties, but that a

⁷ Epist. R. S. I, 106.

⁸ Ibid. 108, 109. Two elegant unprinted epistles of Panter to his disciple, the archbishop, at Padua, may be found in the ms. Reg. 13 B. II.

brief reconciliation had been followed by war; that he shall ¹⁵¹⁰ not presume to judge which was the aggressor, and, in the uncertain justice of the cause, he had not sent any aid to Denmark; that Lubeck had acted haughtily, and, as was reported, had treated the Scottish merchants with cruel severity; and that the Danish king declined a reference to the imperial judgment, as the people of Lubeck were too perfidious to abide by an equitable decision². In the following year a peace was made, by which the Hans Towns were forced to sacrifice their Swedish allies¹.

The pontiff Julius II had now formed an alliance with the Spaniards against the French; and the artful Ferdinand instigated Henry VIII, his son-in-law, to join in a defensive confederacy; though he had recently renewed the league with France, as before mentioned³. James, probably aware of this transaction, made warm professions of friendship to Louis XII; from whose kingdom, in preference, he demanded permission for his subjects to purchase supplies of grain, unseasonable rains having frustrated the hopes of the Scottish harvest⁴. The useful, and the unnecessary, arts continued to divide the attention of James: his attachment to alchemy is palliated by his regard to the best alchemy of a sovereign, the discovery of the native wealth of his dominions; a foreigner was employed, though with small success, in exploring the mines of Scotland for gold⁴.

Nor

¹ Epist. R. S. I, 112. Mallet, Abr. I, 176. ² Mallet, 177, 178.

² Herbert's Hist. of Henry VIII, sub anno. Rymer, XIII, 285, &c.

³ Epist. R. S. 117. On the 18th July, apparently this year, James wrote to Henry, desiring a safe-conduct to Errol, to the prior of St. Andrews, secretary Panter, and Robert Forman dean of Glasgow, to pass to England and abroad. Cal. B. III. 138.

⁴ See a curious letter from James, requesting the loan of some books of Alchemy from Mr. James Inglis, (apparently the celebrated Sir James Inglis, afterwards

1511

Nor did James neglect his laudable cares in promoting the marine of his realm: but, even in this department, he sometimes sacrificed utility to splendor. The construction of small vessels, to be employed in the national fishery, would have met with more applause from a philosophic historian, than the fabrication of that enormous ship, which, as is reported, Francis I and Henry VIII afterwards laboured in vain to exceed⁵. This celebrated vessel was called the Great Michael; and was larger, and stronger, than any ship in the navies of England or France. The oak-forests in Fife, excepting that of Falkland, were exhausted in the construction, though much timber from Norway was also employed⁶: the carpenters, Scottish and foreign, used all diligence, under the frequent inspection of the king: yet a year and a day were necessary to complete the work. Length being still regarded as essential to a ship of war, while those intended for merchandize were as remarkable for short proportions, the Great Michael boasted two hundred and forty feet in length, while thirty-six measured the breadth: but the sides were not less than ten feet thick, and defied the rage of cannon. The expence was estimated about seven thousand pounds sterling of the time, then a very large sum, exclusive of the artillery. In the rude-

terwards abbot of Culros,) Epist. R. S. I, 118. Down to later times *Mr.* and *Sir* imply churchmen only. For the foreign miner see Epist. 119.

Among smaller events, the repeated deaths of the royal children may be found in Lesley; who, under this year, 1510, mentions the travels of the *laird* of Fast-castle, (Cuthbert Home,) to Egypt; and the suppression of the border thieves by James.

⁵ Lindsay, 167, Buch. XIII, 21.

⁶ Scotland had been gradually denuded of wood, partly by the constant conflicts of families and clans, in which the woods were destroyed to prevent refuge or ambuscade, and partly, not to mention other causes, by domestic use. In repeated epistles James applies to foreign powers for supplies of timber. Epist. I, 39, to France, 137, to Denmark and Norway.

ness of the art few cannon were yet employed, even in the largest vessels; and those of the Great Michael are only estimated at thirty-two, with three of inferior size⁷: the abundance of small artillery was held to compensate this defect. The mariners amounted to three hundred, the gunners to one hundred and twenty; and this vast ship could receive one thousand warriors. That this large body might not be destitute of soul, Sir Andrew Wood, and Robert Barton, men eminent in the naval records of Scotland, were among the officers: and from them Lindsay, the historian, derived the detail above given, so that its authenticity appears unquestionable.

A new, and greater, series of affairs now opens upon our view, which shrinks, when it perceives the approaching scene, tinged with the blood, and darkened with the calamities of Scotland. But while history presents the record of human misery, she teaches us to exult that a period has been assigned to the dissensions of two nations, formed for perpetual union.

The war, which was soon to arise between Henry and James, originated chiefly from the following incident. It has already been related that letters of reprisal had been granted to the Bartons against the Portugeze, in revenge of an injury suffered above thirty years before; but which the confined maritime

⁷ Dr. West in his letter to Henry, 13 April 1513, after quoted, says that the Michael had SIXTEEN pieces of great ordinance on every side. For *six* read *sixteen* in this passage of Lindsay, 167, "she bare many cannons, *six* on every side." The word *every* surely implies more than two sides; perhaps poop and prow must be included in the antique ships of that time, in which case the number of large artillery will be sixty-four. Lindsay adds three *bassils*, (perhaps very large cannon from *basiliscus*;) and, among the small artillery, names *myands*, *battert falcons*, and quarter-falcons, flings, *serpetens*, *double dogs*, *bagtors* (hagbuts,) culverins, cross and hand bows.

In 1509 two large ships, accoutred for war, had been presented to James by Louis XII. Less. 353.

1511 power of Scotland had saved from an earlier retaliation. Emanuel, king of Portugal, in vain remonstrated against these reprizals for so ancient an offence, and in vain offered a judicial examination of the affair, for he had, four years before, dismissed with neglect the Rothsay Herald, especially delegated by James to conciliate the dispute, and to restore the antient amity between the crowns⁸. That justice was on the Scottish side, and that Emanuel, after adding contempt to injury, and finding too late that he was mistaken in his estimate of the naval force of Scotland, had no claim to an amicable procedure, are circumstances of probable inference: yet there is some reason to believe that the Bartons abused the royal favour, and the distance and impunity of the sea, to convert this retaliation into a kind of piracy against the Portuguese trade; at that time, by the discoveries and acquisitions in India, rendered the richest in the world. Andrew Barton⁹, the brother of Robert and John, with two vessels, the *Lion*, a large ship of war, and the *Jenny Pirwen*, an armed sloop, traversed the English seas; and interrupted commerce by not only capturing Portuguese vessels, but by rifling some belonging to England, upon pretence of searching for Portuguese goods. At least such were the representations of the English merchants; which had such effect that lord Thomas Howard, and Sir Edward Howard, sons of the earl of Surrey, and of a family afterwards to be repeatedly fatal to Scotland, were sent with two ships to encounter Barton. After an obstinate and doubtful conflict in the Downs, the death of the Scottish commander decided the victory in favour of his antagonists: the two

July

⁸ For the mission of Rothsay see Epist. R. S. I, 91; and for the neglect of Emanuel, ib. 120. The demands of James were apparently too high.

⁹ The name of this leader, as given by the historians, is evinced by the Epist. R. S. I, 147. The other two brothers were long afterwards celebrated.

Scottish

Scotish vessels were brought into the Thames, and retained as lawful prizes, while the crews upon imploring mercy were dismissed. Sir Edward Howard was, in the following year, created lord admiral of England; and Barton's ship, the Lion, had the honour of being the second ship of war in the English navy, the Great Harry built in 1504 having been the first; for till that time only merchant vessels had been occasionally used in warlike affairs. James enraged at this loss, and insult to the Scotch flag, which it had been his favourite study to advance, dispatched a herald to the English court: but the pride of Henry afforded no other answer than, that the fate of pirates ought never to be an object of dispute among princes¹.

A more minute cause of renewed enmity between the nations arose upon this ground. Sir Robert Ker, a favourite of James, his chief cup-bearer, master of his artillery, and warden of the middle march, having been severe in the administration of the latter office, was slain by Heron, Lilburn, and Starked, three Englishmen. Henry VII who then reigned gave up Lilburn to the Scots, Starked escaped: but Heron of Ford, brother of the murderer, was also yielded, and imprisoned with Lilburn in Fastcastle, where the latter died. The two other assassins now beginning to appear, and to excite commotions, as if conscious of protection in the new reign, Andrew Ker, the son of Sir Robert, sent two of his adherents; and receiving from them the head of Starked, remitted it to be exposed in

¹ Lesley, 355. Buch. XIII, 27, 28. Herbert's Henry VIII, p. 15, 16. Hall, f. 15. In his letter to the pope, 5 Dec. 1511, James complains of the English outrages by sea and land. Epist. R. S. I, 123. Yet no evidence remains of remonstrances to England: the original papers and letters are profoundly silent concerning Andrew Barton, whose acts of piracy were perhaps proved to James, and his conviction at once abandoned the cause. Perhaps it was left to the commissioners at the border-meetings.

1511 one of the most public places of Edinburgh. Thus both courts
 seemed to connive at deeds of open violence². Nor must it
 be omitted that James found another cause of complaint, in
 the refusal of Henry to deliver a valuable legacy of jewels,
 which had been left to the Scottish queen by her father³.

Nov. Yet Henry, who now joined the pope, the emperor, Spain,
 and other powers, in an active alliance against France, was
 willing if possible to preserve his dominions from a Scottish
 war; and sent ambassadors to James with offers of satisfaction
 for any violations of the peace⁴. The Scottish king perceived
 the motives, and declined the offer, with so much the more
 spirit as an ambassador had arrived from the court of France,
 Dec. with liberal presents and promises: and, in his letters to the
 pontiff, James expresses the deepest, and most determined re-
 sentment at the conduct of the English monarch⁵.

Amid the consideration of the progress of this unhappy
 dispute with England, the interference of James in the affairs
 of Europe must not be forgotten. In the endeavour to com-
 pose the dissention between the pope and France, an unpre-
 cedented object, and which greatly embarrassed the piety, and
 politics, of the Scottish court, James sent a commission to his
 uncle, the duke of Albany, the attainer of whose family was
 perhaps now reversed, as ambassador extraordinary to the em-
 peror, in order to request his mediation between Louis and
 Julius⁶. Andrew Forman, bishop of Moray, was sent for the

² Buch. XIII, 26.

³ Our historians erroneously say her brother Arthur; but see many original
 letters after quoted.

⁴ Rymer, XIII, 309. See also his unpublished volumes, N^o 4619, art. 19.

⁵ Epist. R. S. I, 122.

⁶ Ibid. 124. From the transactions of 1514 it is very doubtful if any rever-
 sal of the attainer yet took place. John the young duke of Albany had wedded
 a great heiress in 1505, and was considered as settled in France; so that James
 probably sent this commission at the request of Louis.

same purpose to France, to the college of cardinals, and to ¹⁵¹¹ the marquis of Mantua: and this embassador had also the honour to pass as a conciliator between the pontiff and Louis; but without effect⁷. Cordier, a French envoy, proceeded from Scotland to Denmark, in order to influence the Danish court: and to the entreaties of Ferdinand of Spain, who wished to engage James in the papal interest, it was answered by the Scottish monarch, and even by his queen, the sister of Henry, that the sole wish of Scotland was to establish the peace of christendom⁸. A wish amiable but vain: the war between France and the papal allies had commenced in the spring of this year; and so connected were now the affairs of the most distant European countries, that the pride of Julius II was to prove a cause of the death of the Scottish king.

Notwithstanding the symptoms of an approaching rupture ¹⁵¹² between England and Scotland, these kingdoms were to consume another year in fruitless negotiation. Henry wished to secure the neutrality of James, before he conducted his forces into France, that England might not be exposed to the danger of an invasion, during his absence: and James, whose finances and attention had been diverted to other pursuits, and whose subjects, during a long peace, had almost forgotten their military toils, found it necessary to employ some time in preparation for war⁹.

The

⁷ Epist. R. S. I, 126, 128, 130. He returned by France and England in spring 1512. Less. 356. The reader who is desirous of amusement may compare the ludicrous fables in Lindsay, 164—166, with the very different page of Guicciardini.

⁸ Epist. R. S. I, 129, 131, 133.

⁹ In March this year James was suspected by Henry of entertaining a design against Berwick. For it is most probable that the letter from Henry to Darcy governor of Berwick, dated 10th March, Cal. B. VI, 75, was written this year,

1512 The Scottish court was enlivened by the birth of a prince,
 Easter who was named James, and was to succeed to the crown of
 eve, his father; two preceding sons, born in 1507 and 1509, having
 10 April by premature deaths disappointed the hopes of their parents,
 and of the kingdom, which was to labour under a minority,
 long, and tempestuous, beyond any former example.

Amid the commotions of Europe it was thought proper that
 the assistance of Denmark, the ally of France and Scotland,
 should be demanded. For this purpose the Carrick herald was
 22 April sent to the Danish court, with instructions to represent the
 and hostile views of England towards France and Scotland; and
 28 May to enquire what aid might be expected from their ally¹. The
 answer of Denmark does not appear; but it was evidently
 negative or dilatory.

The English king again sent an embassy to Scotland, to
 negotiate a reciprocal remission of all offences against the
 pacification; and to require the oath of James for the observ-
 ance of that treaty, while Henry offered a like oath in return².

This as Dacre's letter of 17th May, in all appearance 1514, B. II, 155, bears to have
 been written two years after James was about to *steal* Berwick, when Darcy
 being too covetous, Dacre was appointed warden of the eastern and middle
 marches. Henry desires Darcy to reinforce the garrison, and prepare to attend
 him with 500 men, "in our voyage to France this summer." Sir Ralph Evers
 (or Eure) had acquitted himself well; and Darcy's son had done service "at
 the late voyage against the said Scots." Darcy remained governor of Berwick,
 while Dacre was warden of the marches.

¹ Ms. Epist. R. S. in bibl. Reg. 13 B. II. In the edition of Ruddiman for
undecimo read *duodecimo*, that is 1512, as in the ms. See the notes to the sub-
 sequent reign of James V for other proofs that he was born on the 10th of
 April 1512.

² Epist. R. S. I, 146; and see the instructions to Magnus Bielde, the Danish
 envoy, on his return, ib. 169.

³ The ambassadors were lord Dacre, and Dr. West, whose second commis-
 sion is dated 15 April 1512. Rymer, XIII, 332, 333. They reached Edin-
 burgh.

This proposal was fruitless. The ratification of the league with France, which had been so long delayed from complaisance to the English monarchs, was now, at the instance of La Motte the French ambassador, solemnly performed by James⁴; who, with the wild spirit and generosity of chivalry, assented to a new clause, highly dangerous to his own interests, and those of his people. It bore, that whereas the former leagues had been directed against England, the present should infer mutual co-operation, and that personal, if the occasion required, against all who may live and die: so that Scotland, in the assistance of France, should now war against the pope, the emperor, England, Spain, the Netherlands, Venice, and Switzerland. Much French gold must have been expended in procuring this extravagant concession, so foreign to every dictate of common

burgh on the 5th May, Lesley, 357; who adds that their intention was to prevent Robert Barton, and the Scottish ships, from sailing, till the English fleet had proceeded to France. Of the 21st May appears a letter from James to Henry, requesting a safe conduct for the bishop of Moray, to pass through England for an universal peace. Cal. B. VI, f. 8. This Henry refused, though the requisition was repeated by James in July and October. See the letters after quoted.

⁴ The preliminaries were signed on the part of James at Edinburgh, 6 March 1511—12, regni 24. ms. Leagues, Harl. 1244, sub anno. The alliance itself, with some variations from the preliminaries, is signed by James 10 July 1512, in presence of the prelates of St. Andrews and Moray, the earl of Angus, secretary Panter, and Gawin Dunbar, ib. The chief variation from the preliminaries is in art. 5, which instead of bearing as before, that Scotland shall make no treaty with England except France be comprehended or refuse, now expresses that Scotland shall make no treaty except by consent of France. The ratification by Louis XII is of the 12th Sept. 1512, Aberc. II, 526, from the original. His commission for completing the alliance may be found in Cal. B. VI, f. 27; it is dated 22 May 1512.

La Motte appears to have been in Scotland before Christmas 1511. See an account of an entertainment then given, at which the French envoy was present, in Arnot's Edinburgh, p. 98.

1512 prudence. The pope, dispirited with the defeat of his allies in the battle of Ravenna, endeavoured to amuse Louis and James by the proposals of a peace, in order to direct the arms of christendom against the Turks⁵. The letters to this effect are dated in the beginning of July; and on the twenty-first of the same month a bull of excommunication was hurled against Louis, an honour about to be conferred on James when Julius II died in the February following, and was succeeded by the more pacific abilities of Leo X⁶.

Yet James continued his labours to establish the peace of Europe, though at the same time he ordered general musters throughout his realm: and lord Sinclair was nominated captain of the ship called the Great Michael, while lord Fleming obtained the same charge in the Margaret⁷.

Meanwhile the designing Ferdinand had persuaded Henry to send a large body of troops to Fontarabia, in the expectation of acquiring Guienne to the English crown: but the Spanish monarch used the terror of their arms to conquer Navarre for himself: and then made a truce with France, leaving his allies to

⁵ Epist. R. S. I, 156—165.

⁶ The interdict against France was of 14th Aug. Mezeray, Abr. IV, 462.

⁷ O. Dacre to Henry 20 July, Cal. B. VI, 33. This letter also bears that a Flemish ship, laden with Scottish goods, had been taken by the English, and carried into Berwick: Dacre advises its restoration, and he shall endeavour in return to obtain those taken by De la Motte, Robert Barton, and David Falconar, whom he calls pirates. De la Motte returning to Scotland in June 1512, after sinking three English vessels, captured seven, and brought them to Leith. Less. 357.

In Sept. 1512 La Motte returned to France, and revisited Scotland in November. Again sailing to France in spring 1513, on the 14th of May he arrived in the west of Scotland, with four ships laden with corn and wine; and returned to France on the 29th of that month. Less. 358. He appears to have again visited Scotland, and to have been present at the battle of Flodden in September. Buch. XIII, 38.

to act at their discretion⁸. This remote expedition appears ¹⁵¹² not to have excited much apprehension in the Scottish court, which only granted letters of reprisal to Robert Barton, in consequence of which he captured thirteen English vessels⁹. Some incursions were also made on the marches, in virtue, as appears, of similar letters; which, by a special clause in the pacification, had been permitted, in case that either party should complain of unredressed injuries. Yet Henry, urged by these appearances of war, gave a commission to the earl of Surrey, 6 Aug. appointing him lieutenant general of the marches; with orders to array the fencible men of the northern counties, in opposition to the Scots'. The English intended no invasion: and James being unprepared delayed open war, though his subjects were harassed at sea by an English squadron, which assumed the merit of combating in the holy cause of the pope, and treated the Scots as profane enemies of the Roman see².

The movements of James were however eagerly watched, and a review of his fleet excited an alarm approaching to that of war. Henry having ordered Darcy, governor of Berwick, to impart what he could discover concerning the intentions of the Scottish king, that peer informed his sovereign that, according to the report of a spy, James intended to command 7 Aug.

Nor must it be omitted that on the 18th July [1512], James had sent repeated letters to Dacre and Henry, complaining that Falconar's ship had been sunk, and himself sent prisoner to London, Cal. B. VI, 60; and that the Scottish merchants had suffered many injuries from the English, who called themselves "the pope's men," ib. 65. But he offers to send the bishop of Moray, as his ambassador to Henry, provided the safe conduct extend to his passage abroad. James promises peace and redress, if Henry shew similar intentions; and he hopes this will be the case "nochtstanding small differencyis betwix ws." As to De la Pole he rejects his cause, as alike injurious to himself and Henry. Ib.

⁸ Mezeray, ib. Herbert, 21, 22. ⁹ Lesley, 357. ¹ Rymer, XIII, 339.

² Polyd. Virg. lib. XXVII, p. 629. Epist. R. S. I, 151.

1512 the fleet himself, having in his company only the bishop of Moray, and some other lords, but not above six persons were in the secret: that he could not collect above twenty ships, and not so many if Brownhill and Barton did not arrive from France; but that he expected to meet the French fleet at sea, and to be joined by ten of their ships, so that no apprehensions were entertained of the English navy: that when the junction was effected, the Scots on the first intelligence were to invade the marches, but if the French fleet were previously defeated the peace would continue: and Darcy engages to prepare Berwick and the north of England³.

Yet it was believed in England that James sincerely wished
 17 Aug. to preserve peace; but the prudent Dacre advised the most lenitive measures on the English part, till the corn were reaped, when it would be difficult for the Scots to invade that country⁴. Henry's temper was little disposed to gentleness; he refused to make peace with France, except by the consent of his allies. James on his part offered every redress, even for the ships taken by Robert Barton, though now engaged in the service of the French king⁵. Henry in a letter to Dacre ridicules

³ O. Darcy to Henry 7 Aug. [1512.] Some of the ships, as the Michael, the Margaret, the James, and *a new bark*, were at most above 300 tons; two others were of 100 tons; the largest of the residue not above 80. Darcy's spy was a priest, familiar with James; he desired to pass into England, and Darcy requests an archdeaconry for him. It is much suspected that he was Adam Williamson, (see 1515.) The Scots also boasted of spies in Henry's court. Ib.

⁴ O. Dacre to the bishop of Durham 17 Aug. Cal. B. III, 2. This letter also bears that the treasurer of Scotland had mentioned to Dacre's messenger, that if 4 or 5000 angels were sent to James, he might be pacified, and all brought to good issue. Margaret resented the detainure of her father's legacy; and Dacre advises that it be paid, the sum being so small. This injustice of Henry was indeed mean beyond conception.

⁵ O. James to Henry 25 Aug. B. VI, 34, narrating Henry's letter dated at Portsmouth.

the idea that Barton is a subject of France; yet approves of ¹⁵¹² the bishop of Moray, as a proper ambassador from Scotland to his court, but will not grant a safe conduct for his proceeding thence to France: he at the same time expresses his perplexity concerning the conduct of James, whom he knows not whether to term a friend, or a foe ⁶.

Nevertheless the solemn days of meeting were held as usual on the borders; and local redress was strictly observed on both sides. The archdeacon of St. Andrews in vain arrived from Paris, with letters from Louis, instigating James to a rupture with England. With De la Motte, who now again returned to France, James sent Walter Ogilvy, charged to propose to Louis that the same annual sum should be paid to him as had been assigned to Henry from France, for Scotland had not funds sufficient to maintain an expensive war. This demand was considered as a refusal to comply with the wishes of Louis, for to grant it was impossible ⁷.

James dispatched Unicorn herald to the English court, to request a passport for the bishop of Moray, as ambassador to London, and from thence to Paris, and other courts, in order to effectuate the peace of christendom. Henry sent an answer ^{12 Nov.} by the herald, approving of Moray as ambassador to him, for continuing the *perpetual peace* between England and Scotland;

⁶ C. Henry to Dacre, no date, B. VI, 44. This letter, as it bears at the end, was to be shewn to James.

⁷ O. John Anislow to the bishop of Durham, Norham, 11 Sept. B. VI, 5; a long and curious letter. The Great Michael had run a-ground in the firth of Forth, and if laden must have been lost. Robert and John Bartons had now returned to Scotland, and were highly in the royal favour: but Brownhill, and one of the Bartons, blamed each other for flight when captured in the engagement with the English in 1511. "And, my lord, the king of Scottis can make out xvi schippis of where, in all Scotland, with toppis;" that is sixteen ships of war of the largest size; a powerful armament for the time.

but

1512 but refused the safe conduct to Paris, as he could not be instrumental in a treaty with Louis, who had been excommunicated
 6 Dec. by the pontiff. James replied that this objection was insufficient, as Ilay herald had just arrived with a brief and letters from the pope, authorizing the Scottish king to labour for universal concord: and he desires a safe conduct to the bishop of Moray and the earls of Arran and Angus⁸.

10 Dec. In a letter to Henry, lord Dacre, who had been appointed warden of the eastern and middle marches, (and whose correspondence is, for a long series of years, occasionally to enlighten the page of Scottish history,) mentions some interesting particulars. De la Motte had anchored opposite to Leith, on the twenty-ninth of November, amid a violent storm: a salute of ten cannons being fired by his ship, the citizens of Edinburgh ran to arms at the alarm, and the common bell was rung for three hours. His vessel was driven up the Forth to Blackness by the tempest: and the Great Michael lying there, James afterwards proceeded on board that famous ship, and gave audience to the embassador, who brought the solemn ratification of the league, as settled in July, by Louis his sovereign⁹.

⁸ O. James to Henry, 6 Dec. B. VI, 4, narrating Henry's letter. James complains of the want of proper redress on the frontiers, and that a ship laden with salmon, belonging to Aberdeen, had been captured. The piracies were mutual; but the balance of gain seems rather to have been on the side of Scotland.

⁹ O. Dacre to Henry, 10 Dec. B. III, 27. Compare Lesley, 358. Dacre adds that La Motte brought 30 tons of wine, white and claret, 8 lasts of gunpowder, 200 iron shot or gun-stones; and 8 serpentines of brass for the field, three yards long, and capable of shooting stones as large as swans eggs: besides plate for James, and silks for the queen. Dacre had many spies in Scotland. A Spanish ship was carried into Leith by a French cruiser, and sold; the king, lords and the captors had, each party, one third. The bishop of Caithness, and the abbot of Kelso, had come to the borders to see redress made.

In the beginning of this year James sent lord Drummond, ¹⁵¹³ and others, embassadors to England¹; and appears, in his ^{14 Jan.} eager desire of protecting Louis from the threatened danger of a more formidable English invasion, to have offered to Henry a complete and gratuitous remission of all the offences, and damages, recently suffered by the Scots, provided that England would abandon the confederacy against France. Had this proposal been adopted, James would have served his ally more effectually than by war: but Henry haughtily rejected the terms². He had however appointed lord Conyers, and Sir Robert Drury, as commissioners, to redress any infractions of the perpetual peace³: and he renewed the powers granted ^{15 Feb.} to lord Dacre, and Dr. West, his former embassadors, for negotiating a mutual remission of offences⁴.

Finding his negotiations with Henry in order to procure peace to France ineffectual, James sedulously prepared for war. He went daily to inspect the progress of his artillery at the castle of Edinburgh, and of his navy at Newhaven; as a secure retreat for which against any sudden attempt, he ordered a strong tower to be built on a small island named Inch Garvey, opposite to Queensferry, which with a battery on either side of the Forth, would effectually repel any hostile assault⁵.

Though

¹ Rymer, XIII, 346.

² Epist. R. S. I, 170, 180.

³ Rymer, XIII, 346, 1 Feb.

⁴ Ibid. 347.

⁵ O. Dacre to Henry, 24 Feb. B. III, 23. More minute particulars are, that the safe conduct for West had arrived: that De la Motte sailed on the 14 Feb. with Octavian a servant of the pope, and sixty Scots, and that James was for an hour aboard the ship, which was laden with "wool, felt, and salt hides." Jaques Tarret a Frenchman, who built the great ship, had also gone to France, to make some articles requisite to her completion. De la Motte had taken a *crayer* laden with malmsey, &c. at Flamborough head, and sent it to Leith. Arrow-heads were made in Scotland superior to any seen before,

1513 } Though a commission of embassy to James had, as before
 mentioned, been issued by Henry to lord Dacre and Dr. West,
 it was understood that the latter alone should proceed to Scot-
 16 Mar. land. West accordingly arrived in Edinburgh, and com-
 menced an unsuccessful negotiation in the hope of detaching
 20 Mar. James from the French interest⁶. Henry desired his envoy to
 offer redress of all naval infractions of the peace, provided that
 James would observe the same terms, but he observes that if
 equity were followed, it must be considered that the English
 had suffered triple the damage that the Scots had undergone:
 yet he will prefer a total abolition of the claims on either side
 to a mutual redress⁷. Two interesting letters from West to
 his sovereign remain, and their chief contents shall be here
 1 April extracted. In the first, which is dated from Stirling, he in-
 forms Henry that James, (ever attached to superstition since
 he appeared in the unhappy field against his father,) had been
 for a week secluded in the monastery of the friars observants
 at Stirling, so that no access could be had to him: that Uni-
 corn herald, and John Barton, had arrived from a mission to
 France: that if the bishop of Moray had passed to that country,
 he was led to expect the rank of cardinal, and he had declared
 that in seven months England would repent of the war: the
 queen desired that her father's legacy to her might be remitted,

and Dacre sends a sample. There were thirteen great ships at Leith, all of
three tops, besides ten smaller vessels, and the ship of Lynne taken by William
 Brownhill: at Newhaven there lay two great ships, the Margaret, and the
 James, formerly damaged but now repaired, and a long vessel of thirty oars on
 each side, like a galley, was constructing to attend the Great Michael. James
 went early every morning to Newhaven, and returned at noon to dinner. A
 new gun had burst in Edinburgh castle, to the imminent jeopardy of the king,
 and many spectators.

⁶ Less. 358.

⁷ C. Henry to West dean of Windsor, his ambassador in Scotland, 20 Mar.
 B. VI, 36, 55.

and

and she would induce James to pacific measures. West proceeds to relate that the bishop of Moray was to go to Italy, to congratulate Leo X, the new pontiff: that the Scottish king declared that he would not make war, without sending a herald, so that if Henry went to France, as he intended, he might return to defend his own kingdom: that to the offer of one thousand marks, made by Henry, if James would consent to an abolition of all claims, that prince answered with scorn that he did not want money, and would not sell his effects. James said that Henry had nominated a successor to the crown of England, to his prejudice, who was the nearest heir; but this West, as authorized by his instructions, solemnly denied. The Scottish king persisted in his romantic design of a voyage to Jerusalem; and shewing to West the advantageous terms offered by France, he urged that by the assistance of Louis alone could he perform his holy expedition. To the chief purport of West's embassy, which was to enquire if James would consent to observe the peace in the absence of Henry, it was answered that appearances must be saved with France, but that if England would offer the same terms they would be considered. The duplicity of this proposal West justly suspected. To the modest demand of the Great Michael made by Henry, James replied that he might command all his ships, on condition that he made peace with France⁸.

The
⁸ O. West to Henry, 1 April, B. VI, 56. James regularly attended his chapel every forenoon in his *traverse*, (retired seat with lettice,) and Margaret was as formal; "when the passion was preched, and the sermon doon, the quene sent for me." James saying he must appeal from Henry's judgment, West asked to whom, and the monarch replied laughing, "I shall appeal to Prester John." He complained that the English commissioners on the borders only trifled; and that Drury said on the bench, that no Scottish ship should sail the sea without being taken; so much had Robert Barton's numerous captures

1513
13 April

The second letter dated from Edinburgh bears that the preparations for war continued, and De la Motte was daily expected from France with provisions for the Scottish fleet: that the secretary of Scotland had confessed that the last brief from Julius had more inflamed the mind of James, than all the French embassies, and the king declared that, if that pope had lived, he would have supported a council of even three bishops against him⁹. West now leaving Scotland, James and his queen remitted letters to Henry by that ambassador: the former stated that the bishop of Moray had proceeded to France by sea, because a safe conduct through England had irritated the English. Henry was so mean as to offer to pay the legacy left to his sister, by their father, if James would consent to peace; scornfully rejected: the king declaring that he would pay the sum to his wife himself. The archbishop of Glasgow, the earl of Argyle, the secretary, and Sir John Ramsay, were appointed to confer with West. If James procured peace, France offered to him a tenth of her revenue, (a *disme* of the realm.) The bishop of Moray sailed to France on the 31st of March; (see a letter of that date, sent with him, to Maximilian, misplaced in Epist. R. S. I, 298.)

West says he would rather have been in Turkey, the Scots were so *myser* and so ungracious; and this suit for peace made them so proud, that they forgot themselves, while the new treaty with France so intensely connected them with that country, that they could do nothing in the least prejudicial to the alliance.

⁹ O. West to Henry, 13 April, B. VI, 69. From this letter it also appears that, at this time, the ambassador observed at Leith only nine or ten small *topmen*, (ships with tops,) and some *balingars* and *crayers*; and none were rigged for sea, except one small *topman* of about sixty tons; at Newhaven the Margaret about the size of the Christ of Lynne was repairing. James said that the Michael had sixteen large ordinance on each side, and more cannon than the French king had ever brought to the siege of a town; but this West regards as a vaunt. De la Motte was to bring biscuit and beer for the fleet. A cannon more than three yards long, and which shot stones larger than penny loaves, had that day been brought from the castle for the Margaret. West threatened James that Henry would stop his great voyage to Jerusalem: the king said that Henry had better lead his army against Scotland than France; West answered that he had arms for both.

been

been refused ; and he desires with much eagerness that Henry ¹⁵¹³ will consent to peace with Louis, or at least defer his expedition for one year¹. Margaret with high spirit upbraids her brother for his pitiful conduct concerning their father's legacy².

West had nevertheless prevailed with James to consent that a meeting of commissioners from both nations should be held in the following June³. But this meeting came to no determination ; and the English commissioners desired a delay till the 15th of October, with the approbation of Henry and his council⁴. James, in his letter to Henry, soon to be narrated, blames the English monarch for frustrating the intention of this conference : but while it is granted that Henry's capricious pride, and puerile ambition, prevented him from sacrificing his enmity to France, and even from treating his spirited brother-in-law with deserved attention ; it must also be allowed that the arts of France prevailed more and more over James, till they violently conducted him to his own destruction.

These invidious arts were chiefly guided by Andrew Forman bishop of Moray, the ambassador of Scotland at the French court ; a man of versatile talents, long busied in the subtilties of negotiation, and who, with an unprincipled cunning, pursued his own advancement, often at the expence of his country. Two years after this period, he is solemnly ac-

¹ O. James to Henry, 13 April, B. VI, 68. He persuades his brother-in-law to peace, "sen mutation is accursit in the kirk."

² O. Margaret to Henry, 11 April, B. VI, 74. She desires no more may be said of it, as her husband was every day more and more beneficent to her, and would pay the sum himself. "We are ashamed thairwith, and would God never word had been thereof : it is not worth such estimation as is in your diverse letters of the samen."

³ Lesley, 358.

⁴ Letter James to Henry, in Hall and Holinshed's chronicles.

1513 cused in a letter from the government of Scotland to the pope, of having incited his sovereign into the ruinous war terminated by his death⁵: and he must certainly have been an insincere statesman who was at once a favourite of his deluded master, and of the courts of London, Paris, and Rome. Had his sphere been as extensive as that of his contemporary Wolsey, he might have shone with all his guilt and glory. Like that famous minister, he blended his private avarice and ambition with every foreign negotiation: the concessions made to England, the treaty of perpetual peace, procured Forman the rich priory of Cottingham; the sale of his king and country now acquired to him from France the archbishopric of Bourges; his devotion to the papal interest was soon to obtain that of St. Andrews⁶. The miseries of nations so often originate from profligate statesmen, while their unhappy sovereigns sustain the blame, that it is the peculiar duty of history to unfold the infamy of ministers. Forman's repeated epistolary persuasions⁷ were seconded by all the diplomatic refinement, and corrupt intrigue, of La Motte the French ambassador; who now returned with four ships, laden with flour and wine, besides some English prizes, for he appeared in the double character of an envoy, and a warrior⁸. But his most valuable

⁵ Epist. R. S. I, 209.

⁶ Epist. R. S. passim. Keith, &c. In 1509 Forman in his embassy to Henry VII, with strange duplicity, permitted the title of king of France to pass among those of the English monarch: Rymer, XIII, 261, 267; a circumstance which occasioned to James the embarrassment of a formal protest.

⁷ Buch. XIII, 30, "literis crebris Andreae Formanni." Add Lindsay, 171. The praise of this bishop by those authors is truly ludicrous. They wrote in complete ignorance of his character. See also the first years of James V.

⁸ Less. 358. Denmark sent some ships laden with arms: and O Donnell, the great Irish chief, visited Edinburgh to offer his homage, and instigate James against England. Ibid.

freight,

freight, if we believe Henry's reproaches to James, consisted ¹⁵¹³ of crowns of the sun, a golden coinage of France, which he profusely distributed to the Scottish king, and courtiers. The character of James had been well studied by La Motte, and was completely known by Forman, so that it was now touched with a masterly hand; for letters, written in an amorous strain, appeared from a high-born damsel in distress, the queen of France, to this prince of chivalry, in which she termed him her knight; and, assuring him that she had suffered much blame in the defence of his honour, beseeched him to advance but three steps into English ground with his army, for the sake of his mistress. The artful queen, Anne of Bretagne, who died a few years after in her thirty seventh year, at the same time sent to James fourteen thousand crowns; and, what ought to have been more valuable to an errant knight, a ring from her own finger. An exquisite sensibility of honour was the peculiar foible of James, as it was to be of his successor, and proved in different modes fatal to both. Hence the reproaches of Anne, which refer to the inactivity of James, after the league of last year, and perhaps to the intervening negotiations with England; and hence the insolent remonstrance, contained in a letter of Forman's at this period, in which he assured his king that his honour was for ever lost, if he did not assist France, as Forman had promised in his name.

But there was another point of honour to be considered; for a defect in which the English warmly accused James, though with no great degree of justice. This was the rupture of the perpetual peace; to the observance of which both kings had solemnly sworn. Yet there was nothing in that treaty exclusive of an alliance between Scotland and France; and

⁹ Lindsay, 171, 172. Buch. XIII, 25. ¹ *Iidem ib.*

1513 it was especially agreed that either party might assist an ally against the other, provided there was no invasion permitted of each other's dominions: in their subsequent letters, James, and Henry, betrayed improper warmth; but the power, which first radically infringed the perpetual peace, was that which first invaded the territories of the other; and in this it is suspected that James was to blame: for if any petty English invasion preceded that by Home, as our historians pretend, it might, like other limitary insults, have been revenged by letters of reprisal, in conformity to the grand pacification². But in this point that celebrated treaty was so little adapted to the contingencies of real practice, that no political scheme could secure it from violation: it was the work of churchmen, and to statesmen, warriors, and mankind in general, presented some objects, and methods, impossible in the accomplishment. To a candid enquirer the caprice, and haughtiness, of Henry will appear as immediate a cause of the war, as the prevalence of the French interest at the Scottish court: James may well be acquitted of any criminal infringement of a conditional oath; but he must be charged with rashness, and want of prudence. The conduct of Henry VII to himself should have been the example for that of James to his youthful brother-in-law; but the character of the Scottish monarch was unhappily as impetuous as that of his antagonist.

30 June Henry, having sent a large and gallant army into France, soon after proceeded to take the command in person³; and the ruin

² Arran's invasion of Ireland in July was confessedly unauthorized.

³ Herbert, 36, 37. On the 24th of May 1513, James sent an important letter to Henry, the original of which is extant in Cal. B. VI, f. 67. He informs his brother-in-law that France having concluded a truce with Arragon for one year on the 1st of April last, she desired James to accede, if Henry would; and he offers any terms of peace. The death of admiral Howard, (April 25, Herbert

ruin of that kingdom seemed inevitable; for, to judge from ¹⁵¹³ preceding events, if the English had formerly subdued France by the aid of the duke of Burgundy, what must be their success when, assisted by the emperor, and the house of Austria, of whose extensive domains those of Burgundy now formed only a province? Alarmed for the safety of his ally, apprehensive, as he pretended, for his own consequent fate, the Scottish king ordered his fleet to prepare for sea. James Gordon of Letterfury, a son of the earl of Huntley, was appointed admiral; and he was ordered to conduct the earl of Arran with about three thousand troops into France⁴. The number of ships, in this sole fleet of war which Scotland ever equipped, is not specified by our careless writers: apparently it did not exceed twenty; but the smallness of the number was compensated by the strength and size of some of the vessels, among which the Great Michael, the Margaret, the James, are especially commemorated⁵.

The squadron sailed, the king being on board the Michael; 26 July where he remained to animate the leaders and troops, till the ships had passed the island of May. He then landed, little

Herbert 31,) he regards as a loss to Henry, never to be compensated by the acquisition of French gallies; and he adds that such able officers should be employed against the Turks. He expresses the deepest regret of himself and his queen for the fate of that gallant man, as they were both well acquainted with his father [Surrey,] "the noble knight, quha convoyt our dearest fallow the quene unto ws." Deeply pathetic, when it is considered that, in a few months, this noble knight was to slay him in battle!

⁴ Lesley, 359. Lindsay, 171, seems more justly to regard Arran as both admiral and general. Yet Gordon was perhaps a seaman, and high admiral of Scotland at the time. Lindsay adds that lord Fleming was vice-admiral in the Margaret, and lord Ross of Halket commanded the James.

⁵ The original letters of the commencement of the reign of James V throw some light on this subject. The letter of Darcy, Aug. 1512, may also be referred to the reader's curiosity.

1513 } suspecting the subsequent strange conduct of Arran. That peer, whose rank and command of the troops, gave him a decided preeminence over the admiral, ordered the fleet to proceed to Carrickfergus in Ireland; a town which he easily took and plundered⁶. Whether his motives for this depredation were to revenge some injuries done to his people of Arran, by the inhabitants of the opposite Irish shore, or to ingratiate himself with France by committing Scotland as a principal party in the war, must be left to conjecture. It appears, from authentic Scottish evidence, that the sack of Carrickfergus was conducted with great barbarity; for the poet Lindsay has celebrated, in strains far from fanciful, the actions of William Meldrum of Binns, a Scottish gentleman present in this expedition: and he represents the town as having been abandoned to an almost total conflagration; his hero's merit is displayed by protecting even priests and friars from the soldiery; and his first adventure consists in the deliverance of an opulent virgin from robbery and violation⁷. After this exploit, Arran passed to Air, to lodge his spoils in safety. James, justly enraged at the delay, ordered Sir Andrew Wood to proceed with a he-

⁶ Abercromby, often an apologist, attempts to shew, II, 528, that this invasion happened on the *return* of the fleet. Granger, 750, timidly passes the event. Guthrie, always positive and generally wrong, is certain IV, 342, that it happened on the return. Unhappily for this hypothesis *the fleet never returned*. Arran brought back a few ships in a direct voyage from France to Scotland, Nov. 1513. Dacre to Henry, Cal. B. VI, 37. The ships of strength had been left in France, *ib.* and apparently most of the troops. Had any invasion then taken place, Dacre must have mentioned it: but he is profoundly silent. It is unnoticed in Henry's letter to James, 11 Aug. because it could not then have reached his ears.

Lindsay, 171, tells the story with unsuspecting simplicity; Buchanan XIII, 25, confirms his account: and Sir David Lindsay, *hist. of Meldrum*, Scottish Poems, London 1792, Vol. I, p. 150, seq. puts the affair beyond all doubt.

⁷ Lindsay's Squire Meldrum, *ubi supra*.

rald at arms, in order to supersede the admiral, and appointed ¹⁵¹³ Angus to command the forces: but the Scottish fleet had sailed for France before the mandate arrived⁸. Of the actions of Arran's troops nothing is recorded: nor was there any conflict, except the skirmish at Guinegat, called the battle of spurs, have a claim to that title. Henry captured Terouenne, and Tournay, and returned. Next year a peace was concluded; and Louis wedded Mary, the sister of Henry⁹. Happy! had James consulted patience and prudence, only for one year. Louis however settled a pension for life on Arran: and, in September, issued letters of general naturalization in France, to all the people of Scotland. To this grateful measure he was instigated by the representations of Forman, bishop of Moray, the Scottish ambassador, and of Robert Stuart lord of Aubigny, captain of the Scottish guard: the record adds, as the chief reasons, the assistance of the Scottish peers to France in the reign of Charles VII, who first elected a guard from their countrymen; and the tried fidelity of the nation, especially on the present occasion, when James had, in opposition to his own brother-in-law, sent a considerable body of troops, and a fleet of many good ships to assist the French¹. Arran returned to Scotland, in the month of November: the fate of the fleet was obscure, a part failed back, and mouldered in neglect; while a part was sold to France; in particular the Great Michael, which was purchased by Louis XII on the 2d of April 1514, for forty thousand livres, from the duke of Albany, in the name of the Scottish government².

Having

⁸ Buch. XIII, 25. Lindsay, 172. Charters to Wood appear in Scott. Cal. in 1526 and 1528: he must have attained a great age.

⁹ Herbert 37—51. Mezeray, Abr. IV, 468—470.

¹ Abercr. II, 528, from a copy in the earl of Winton's possession.

² Epist. R. S. I, 214. Buchanan XIII, 25, fables that the fleet of Arran was scattered by tempests, and that the Michael was suffered to rot in the haven

1513

Having thus accompanied the maritime expedition, from its commencement to its termination, it is necessary to return to more fatal events by land. On the day that his fleet sailed, James dispatched his chief herald, with a letter to Henry, now about to form the siege of Terouenne. It is said that this message was not unknown to the Scottish parliament, which had been induced by the royal influence, and by the intrigues and gold of France, to consent to an English war; but this seems a dubious and vague assertion³. In this remarkable letter, James recapitulates the affair of Andrew Barton; the protection given to Heron, the assassin of Ker the Scottish warden; and the detention of the legacy of Henry VII to his daughter: he adds the slaughter and captivity of some Scottish gentlemen; the delay of redress; and Henry's contempt, in refusing a safe conduct to an ambassador from Scotland though intended to be sent at the request of West his own envoy. James, lastly, states the bonds of amity between himself and France, from which realm alone he could expect aid if injured, and on which the wanton attack of Henry could not fail to excite a similar apprehension for Scotland: and in a sentence, which might have been modified, he insists on Henry's return to his own dominions⁴.

11 Aug.

The English monarch received this bold epistle, while before Terouenne, the emperor Maximilian was about to fight under his banner; and his youth was flushed with pride, ambition, and glory⁵. In an extacy of indignation, and scorn, he poured forth invectives against James; which he desired the

of Brest! He was an enemy of the Hamiltons. Lesley, their friend, passes all in silence. Both are, in this instance, alike guilty of historical falsification.

³ Compare Buch. XIII, 30, with Lindsay, 172.

⁴ The letter itself in Hall, 5 H 8, Holinshed, III, 1481; Cal. B. VI, 50. The answer, Rymer, XIII, 382, and Cal. B. VI, 49.

⁵ Herbert, 37.

lion-king-at-arms to repeat to his master: but the herald, with ¹⁵¹³ the conscious spirit of his office, refused; adding, that he would take charge of a letter, though that of his master demanded deeds, and not words, and could only be answered by compliance⁶. This retort little contributed to appease Henry's wrath; who sent a letter full of indignities, which never reached the eye or ear of James, as the herald was not able to procure a passage from Flanders, till after the death of his master⁷. The chief topics of reproach were, that James, with the perfidy of his ancestors, intended to break the peace solemnly sworn; that he had awaited Henry's absence, before his intentions were declared; that his want of faith being known, England was prepared to receive him; that he expected the crown of that kingdom, but Henry should so order, that neither he, nor his descendants, should wear it. The English king solemnly denies that he refused a safe-conduct to the ambassador: and rejects with disdain, to admit James as the judge of his quarrel with France, or at his desire to desist from the war⁸. These singular manifestos, though impassioned, and unlike those of more modern times, yet explain rather the pretences than the causes of enmity.

Henry certainly regarded the letter of James, and not unjustly, as a declaration of war: but it is impossible that an incursion could be made into Scotland, in consequence of this letter, before the 13th of August, as some of our historians pretend; and that such an inroad was at all effected seems more than dubious. However this be, lord Home, who had a few years before succeeded his father as chamberlain of Scotland, and was moreover warden of all the marches, arrayed

⁶ Hall and Holinshed, ib. Less. 361.

⁷ Less. ib.

⁸ Rymer, XIII, 382. Cal. B. VI, 49. Hall and Holinshed *ut supra*.

1513
13 Aug. his followers to the amount of three or four thousand, marched into England, rifled and burned seven villages, or hamlets, on the borders; and collected considerable spoil⁹. That this incursion was made with the permission of James seems evident; but what intention it could serve, except to put the English upon their guard, before the royal army entered into their country, is inexplicable. The success of Home was speedily reversed. Sir William Bulmer had been sent from Doncaster by the earl of Surrey, with two hundred archers on horseback, to defend the marches from minute infractions: that officer now called to his assistance the gentlemen of the English border, who, with their followers, swelled his band to the amount of near a thousand. Placing themselves in ambuscade among some tall broom, in the plain of Milfield, they suddenly surprized the Scots in their return, loaden with plunder. The victory, as usual, fell to the English archers, whose sharp and continuous discharge slew five or six hundred of Home's people: their leader fled, and lost his banner, leaving his brother Sir George Home, and more than four hundred of his followers, captives: the prey, amid which was a great number of English horses, was resumed by the conquerors¹.

James, in opposition to the advice of his council, had already summoned the whole array of his kingdom, embracing every province, and even the isles, to meet him at the Burrow-

⁹ Less. 361. Buch. XIII, 29. Hall, 5 H 8. Holinshed III, 1483. Herbert, 42. Granger 746 ridiculously supposes this event to have happened in 1512; and that Surrey's commission 6 Aug. 1512 was *in consequence* of an incursion of 13th August! Had it happened in 1512 the numerous original remonstrances could not have been silent.

¹ Lesley, 361, says the action happened in the pass of *Broomhouse*, (so he interprets *Agro Genistæ*;) probably Broomridge near Milfield. Buchan. XIII, 29, narrates that the prey was saved by the Scots. Compare Hall 5 H 8. Holinshed, III, 1487.

moor, on the south of Edinburgh, within twenty days, accommodated with the usual provisions for an expedition of forty days²; beyond which time a feudal army was not bound to serve, except its expences were discharged by the sovereign, a case yet unknown in Scotland. As no Scottish monarch had ever been more popular, the array was great, though the people was not insensible that the war was imprudent: and by the confession of domestic, and the testimony of extraneous, record, not less than one hundred thousand men crowded to the banner of James³. 1513

Meanwhile the defeat of Home, who seems to have been permitted to make his excursion during the gradual assemblage of the host, with an erroneous view perhaps of inspiriting its hopes, by the previous prospect of success and plunder, not a little clouded the mind of the king⁴. Some of his wiser courtiers, knowing him as prone to superstition as to romantic adventure, availed themselves of his melancholy, to introduce a mode of dissuasion from his intended expedition, only adapted to the man, and to the age. As James was performing his devotions in the church of Linlithgow, a grave personage, with a bald fore-head, blue gown, linen girdle, and sandals, probably representing Saint Andrew, the patron of Scotland, proceeded boldly to the royal seat; and, with the awful voice of celestial authority, warned the king of the deplorable fate of his expedition: nay, if we believe an eye-witness, this pretended vision added a stern caution against the king's attachment to vague amours, as leading to his certain ruin; a

² Lindsay, 172. Drummond, 144, observes that the Burrow-moor was "a field then spacious, and delightful, by the shades of many stately and aged oaks."

³ Lindsay, 175. Hall, 5 H 8. Holinshed, III, 1488.

⁴ Lindsay, 172, says James was "very sad and dolorous."

circumstance

1513 circumstance not prophetic of his destructive dalliance with Mrs. Heron, but which leads to suspect that the queen was not unconscious of the plot⁵. This stratagem being found ineffectual, another was used to dispirit, and disperse, the army; by summoning at the cross of Edinburgh, in the dead hour of night, the chief leaders to answer before an infernal tribunal⁶. But prudence and superstition united their powers in vain: and equally fruitless were the caresses, and tears, of Margaret the queen, who besought her husband, if he must war with her brother, at least not to conduct his forces in person; but to look upon his infant son, and reflect that on him alone rested all the hopes of his parents, and of an affectionate people⁷.

The gallant monarch proceeded, as to a tournament, unconscious that he was no general; and soon passed the Tweed with his numerous army. Encamping at Wessel, or Twisel, where the Till joins that river, he remained there for at least 22 Aug. two days; and sanctioned the act of a singular parliament, consisting of those members who were in the army, ordaining, in imitation of a then late English statute, that the heirs of all who died in the war should be free from the feudal burdens of ward, relief, and marriage, due to the king, whatever might be their age⁸. The castle of Norham surrendered on the 29th of August⁹; some days being vainly wasted in the siege of this fortress, while the numerous array of James might

⁵ Lindsay, 172, 173. Buch. XIII, 31, from the testimony of Sir David Lindsay, who was present. These authors regard this theatric scene as supernatural.

⁶ Lindsay, 174, again shews his credulity.

⁷ Lindsay, 175. To preserve her from any pecuniary embarrassment, in case of his death, James gave her a private order on the treasury for 18,000 crowns. Cal. B. II, 230. See the transactions of June 1517.

⁸ Acts, f. v. 110. ⁹ Hall, 5 H 8. Holinshed, III, 1488, Lesley, 362. have

have enabled him to have overwhelmed the whole northern ¹⁵¹³ parts of England, and, with the spirit of a Douglas, to have intimidated the enemy by distant destruction, and enriched and attached the army by spoil. It is believed that Carlisle, Newcastle, Durham, or York, might have fallen with as much ease as this strong, but to the Scots useless, castle: and the fame, and opulence, of such an enterprize held forth very different animation to the army. Returning up the banks of the Tweed, James took the castle of Wark, or Carram, situated above Coldstream, on the opposite side of the river; then proceeding to the south-east, he ventured a few miles further into English ground, and took the castles of Etal, and Ford; names before unknown, and enterprizes worthy of a border-chieftain¹. At Ford the king found Mrs. Heron, whose husband was still a prisoner in Scotland, and not exchanged for sir George Home²: the royal warrior was at once dissolved in indolence, and love; while his natural son, the archbishop of St. Andrews, became the paramour of Miss Heron the daughter³. Both ladies were of eminent beauty; but it is impossible to avoid a smile, when we are told, by an historian⁴, that some suspected the snare was spread for James by Surrey the English general; as if any human prudence could have foreseen such infatuation. It may be averred that many irretrievable days were wasted by James at Ford; for Surrey found, and defeated him, at Flodden, where his army lay on the opposite side of the Till, within a mile or two of Mrs. Heron's enchanted castle. In a romance such a circumstance would appear impossible; but much is true, which has no semblance of truth; and thus was past

¹ Ibid. Buch. XIII, 32.

² Hall, ib.

³ Lindsay, 176, Buch. XIII, 32.

⁴ Drummond, 145, edit. 1655, folio.

1513 the time, which used to convey a Scottish army to the gates of York, and return it laden with spoil.

While the king pursued his amorous dalliance, his numerous array, confined to the barren extremity of England, began to find provisions fail; and was exposed to continual rains, among the upland heaths, and cloudy mountains. Oppressed moreover by a tedious delay, so inimical to the spirit of a soldier, the leaders and men began to execrate an enterprize, which employed weeks to accomplish the objects of hours. Some there were, who had acquired spoil and captives, and were desirous to exchange danger for enjoyment. From these, and other causes, the Scottish host gradually melted away, till there remained not above thirty thousand; a disproportionate number of whom consisted of lords and gentlemen, prevented by considerations of honour from following the vulgar example⁵.

On the other hand, the earl of Surrey, lieutenant general of the northern counties of England, lost no time in his preparations to oppose the Scottish king. He speedily raised an army of twenty six thousand men; received the sacred banner of St. Cuthbert in passing through Durham: and on the 30th of August, was joined at Newcastle by lord Dacre, and others⁶.

4 Sept.
Sunday.

A few days after, the English army was strengthened at Alnwick by an addition of five thousand soldiers, conducted by Surrey's son, Thomas Howard, now lord admiral of England, his brother Edward having fallen in a conflict with the French fleet⁷. Immediately upon this junction, Surrey sent a herald to James offering battle on the friday following: and, to his

⁵ Lindsay, 176, says there only remained ten thousand, besides "borderers and countrymen," that is men of the southern counties. Compare Buch. XIII, 32; Lesley, 362; and Lindsay, 181.

⁶ Hall, *ib.* the most ample and authentic detail.

⁷ Hall says only 1000: but see Stow, 492, Carte, III, 12.

father's

father's reproaches, the admiral added that, having in vain ¹⁵¹³ fought the Scottish fleet by sea, he was now ready to assert the justice of Andrew Barton's fate in the van of the English army⁸. These defiances were intended to arouse the characteristic spirit, and resentment, of James, and thus induce him to combat with a diminished and disheartened army, at the will of the English leader: nor did they fail of their proposed effect, for the Scottish king accepted the challenge, in the very circumstances that Randel and Douglas had refused that of Edward III⁹. Some of his peers remonstrated against this imprudent step, particularly the earl of Angus, whose great age and experience ought to have secured respect; but James only answered, "Angus, if you are afraid, you may go home." The affront was unpardonable; and the aged earl left the field with tears of indignation: but he commanded his two sons and his followers, to abide the event¹.

Nevertheless James supposing that the hill of Flodden, on the opposite side of the Till, presented a more advantageous post for his army, than the level situation of his camp, he removed, and took possession of that fatal ground². This hill ^{6 Sept.} is the last, and lowest, of those eminences which extend on the north-east of the mountains of Cheviot, towards the vales of Tweed, from which river it is distant about four miles. The ascent from the Till, which runs north by the declivity on which Ford stands, is about half a mile in length: and a

⁸ Hall, ib.

⁹ Hall, ib.

¹ Buch. XIII, 35, 36.

² The castle of Ford was burnt by James IV, and not repaired in 1542. See a survey of the borders of that year, Cal. B. VIII, f. 63. Had such papers been known to Redpath, he might have composed a far more interesting work, than his injudicious history of England and Scotland, intitled the Border History. This destruction lends probability to Lindsay's tale, that lady Ford betrayed James: and that she passed between him and Surrey is clear from Hall.

1513 bridge across the Till rendered the passage easy. On the south of Flodden extends the capacious plain of Milfield; embraced on the west by high hills branching from Cheviot, on the north by Flodden and other eminences, on the east and south by rising grounds, beneath which the Till winds its flow and solemn way³.

7 Sept. Surrey learning this movement of the Scottish army, and being now advanced to Woolerhaugh within five miles of Flodden, he endeavoured again to provoke the pride of James, by sending a herald to reproach him for leaving his ground; and to challenge him to abandon his heights, and try the fortune of war on Milfield plain, the following day, between the hours of twelve and three. But the king's imprudence extended not so far: he even refused admittance to the herald⁴.

Finding this scheme fail, and that it was necessary to bring the Scots to battle, or retire, as his army began to want provisions, in a barren and ravaged country, the English general, **8 Sept.** with great skill, proceeded to a decisive measure. Passing the Till, he advanced through rugged grounds on its east-side, and encamped, for the night, at Barmore-wood, about two miles from the Scottish army. An eminence on the east of Ford, shaded the English from observation: and from this height the admiral reconnoitred the Scots, who discharged a few cannon.

9 Sept. Friday. Next morning the English wheeled to the north west, and crossed the Till near its confluence with the Tweed; the vanguard and artillery over the bridge of Twisel; the rear by a ford, about a mile above that bridge. Having thus come

³ Almost the words of Redpath, 488, who surveyed, in company with Dr. Percy, most of the scenes of the Scottish and English conflicts on the borders.

⁴ C. Surrey's letter, 7 Sept. five in the afternoon, Cal. B. VI, 73; and Stow, 493, Hall, ib.

behind the Scots, by which mean there was an easy access to ¹⁵¹³ Flodden-hill, and a battle was rendered unavoidable, the English advanced in full array towards the enemy⁵.

It is evident that James was ignorant of every duty of a general, when he permitted the accomplishment of these movements: he might have repeatedly attacked the enemy at disadvantage; in the rear, when marching through the rugged grounds; or divided when passing the difficult ford of the Till. But he had not even a suspicion of this countermarch; and had only ordered a battery of cannon on the east side of Flodden, to defend the bridge between Ford and his camp⁶. To the former causes of discouragement in his army, he now added persistence in defence; while to attack might have been half a victory.

The Scots, suddenly perceiving the English in order of battle, set fire to the huts of their camp, and hastened to take possession of a northern eminence near Brankston, which might have proved an advantageous post for the enemy, who had now passed the brook of Sandyford⁷. The southern wind blew the smoke between the armies; so that the English advanced undiscerned almost to the bottom of this eminence; and it is said that the king even prohibited any use of his cannon⁸. Surrey, observing the confusion of the Scots, arising from his unexpected approach, and from the dangerous movement to the north, resolved upon an immediate attack. His army was in three divisions; the van under the admiral, and Sir Edmund Howard; the middle under Surrey; and the rear led by Sir

⁵ Hall, *ib.* Buch. XIII, 37. Less. 363.

⁶ The vestiges yet remain. Redpath, 490.

⁷ The village of Brankston is to the north-west of the hill of Flodden, and distant between one and two miles. The English denominated the battle from the village; the Scots from the hill.

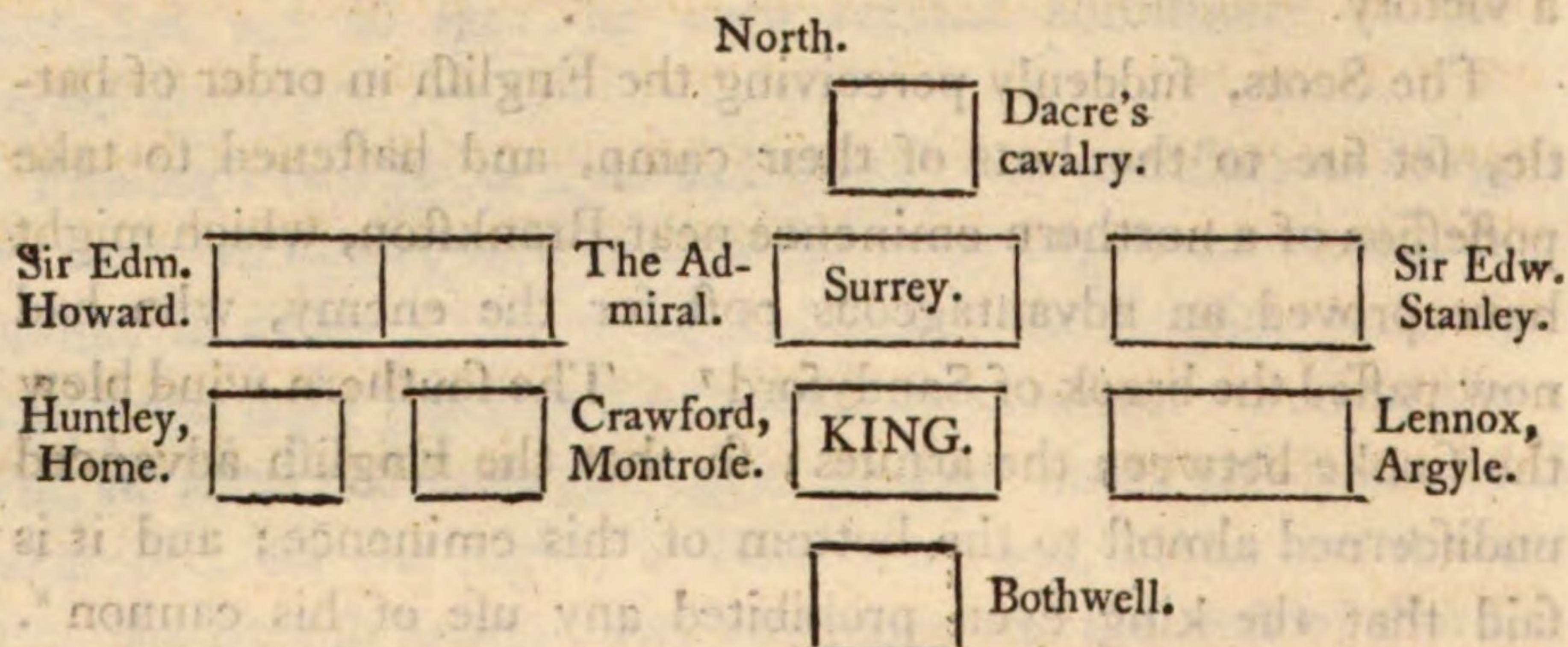
⁸ Lindsay, 181.

1513 Edward Stanley; besides a reserve of cavalry commanded by lord Dacre: the artillery in the front, and in the space between the divisions⁹. The Scots were arranged in four partitions; on the left wing Huntley and Home were opposed to Sir Edmund Howard, while Crawford and Montrose fronted the admiral; the king himself had the center: the right wing was conducted by Lennox and Argyle. The reserve was committed to Bothwell, and consisted of his followers, and those of other chiefs in Lothian¹. The English cannon did some execution, before the armies encountered.

At

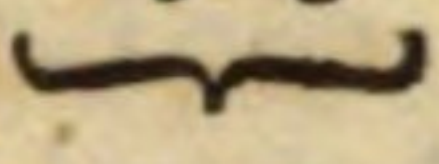
⁹ Hall, ib. Stow, 492, 493. Herbert, 43.

¹ A slight sketch will give a clearer idea of this noted battle.



The best account is to be found in Hall, who however errs, when he supposes that Huntley was with Lennox and Argyle; for Dacre, in an original letter to the council of England, Cal. B. II, 155, mentions that, (after Sir Edmund's division was defeated by the Scottish left,) he with his cavalry encountered *Huntley and Home*, and there fell of the Homes Sir John, Cuthbert of Fastcastle, the heir of Sir David; with many of their friends, as Sir William Cockburn and his son, the *larde* of Blacater, William Ker, and three Bromfields brothers: while Dacre's brother Sir Philip was taken, and many of his kinsmen and followers slain.

Lindsay gives no arrangement of the battle, but slightly narrates, 181, 182, that Huntley and Home had the van, (the left wing having advanced first, a circumstance which has embarrassed the narrations of the Scottish historians accustomed

At the hour of four, in the afternoon, the battle commenced. ¹⁵¹³
 The admiral, perceiving the Scots descend in four large bodies,  armed with long spears, requested his father to extend, and strengthen, the van, by drawing up the middle division on its left². Sir Edmund Howard was then encountered by Huntley and Home, and his division thrown into great disorder, till Dacre advanced his cavalry in its support: but the admiral, now joined by Dacre, routed, and flew, Crawford and Montrose. The king's battalions opposed those of Surrey; while Stanley on the left wheeled round the eminence, and attacked in flank Lennox, and Argyle, who being slain, their battalions were totally routed. But the Scottish historians say that the undisciplined highlanders, under the latter two nobles, rushed down the hill, though La Motte and other French officers exerted themselves to prevent this fatal step, and by their consequent discomfiture occasioned the calamity of the day; Stanley attacking them in the rear, a measure generally decisive of an engagement³.

James had altogether forgotten his characters of monarch, and general; and rushed on with the illaudable valour of a (customed to regard the right wing as the van.) Lesley's arrangement is, on the *right* Huntley and Home: *left* Crawford, Montrose: *middle* King, Argyle, and Lennox. Buchanan's, R. Huntley, Home; M. King; L. Lennox, Argyle. That of Paulus Jovius, R. Huntley, Crawford, Montrose; M. King; L. Home, Lennox, Argyle. Hall's minute account of the battle sufficiently evinces the fallacy of these descriptions. Lennox and Argyle, for instance, were attacked by Stanley; while Huntley and Home assailed Sir Edmund Howard; and Crawford and Montrose were defeated by the admiral's division: and in the arrangement of the English all our historians agree.

² The Scottish pikes are compared to the *Moorish* by Hall. This minute writer says that the admiral sent the Agnus Dei from his breast, as a token to his father to advance. Hall probably received the circumstances from the admiral himself, duke of Norfolk, 1524—1554.

³ Buchan. XIII, 38.

common

1513 common foldier. While the English leaders, conscious of their duty and importance, preserved a station, from which they could discern, and direct, the actions of their bands, James, and his nobles, dismounted; and struggled in the front with the mass of English bill-men. In this vain, and inglorious, contest many Scottish peers fell; but Bothwell and his reserve advancing, and valiantly supporting the king's attack, the standard of Surrey was endangered. At this critical moment that part of the left wing, which was led by Crawford and Montrose, being routed, Huntley having fled, and Home's battalion being thus separated, and apparently obliged to stand on the defensive against the cavalry under Dacre, the admiral advanced his division, and assailed in flank that of the Scottish king, and the reserve under Bothwell, which had bravely advanced in his support. James fell amid heaps of his warlike peers, and gentlemen; being pierced with an arrow, and mortally wounded on the head with a bill. Though Stanley, having dispersed the right wing, now pursued their tract, and came upon the rear of the Scottish centre, it still maintained the shock; and, arranged in the form of a circle, disputed the victory with surrounding enemies, till the approach of night terminated the conflict.

As Home's band had defeated a part of the English army, and the Scottish centre had not retired, Surrey was uncertain of the victory, till the returning dawn discovered that the field was abandoned by the foe ⁴.

Such was the celebrated battle of Flodden, the only one in which a Scottish king had fallen, since the time of Malcom III.

⁴ Compare Hall's interesting detail with the more summary accounts of Lindsay, 182, 183; Buch. XIII, 38; Lesley, 364. Polydore Virgil, lib. XXVII, p. 641, observes that if James had fought more cautiously, or his people had been eager to revenge his fall, the English would have been defeated.

The generous and valiant peers disdained their lives, in the defence and revenge of their sovereign; and perhaps no conflict in history displays such an effusion of noble blood. The archbishop of St. Andrews, a natural son of James, whose promising youth was honoured with the eulogy of Erasmus, was a victim on this occasion, along with other church-men of rank, George Hepburn bishop of the Isles, and the abbots of Kilwinning and Inchaffray. Of the nobles were twelve earls; Crawford, Montrose, Lennox, Argyle, Errol, Athole, Morton, Cassils, Bothwell, Rothes, Caithness, Glencairn; besides thirteen lords; and five eldest sons of peers. The gentlemen of high rank, and chiefs of families, amounted to about fifty. Of the common sort it may be computed, by assuming the middle between the diminutions of the Scots and exaggerations of the English, that about ten thousand were left on the field^s. On the English side hardly a gentleman fell, for the battle was as usual chiefly decided by the English archers: but the loss of the soldiery might amount to four thousand.

In the night of the battle, Home's followers, chiefly freebooting borderers, pillaged some of the slain; and their leader has been much calumniated by some Scottish historians, as if he had stood aloof, while he might have lent effectual aid to his sovereign; nay some charge him with the assassination of James, when he had passed the Tweed, in his flight from the field. But the reports are so vague, and contradictory, that they deserve no credit. The impartiality of the old English writers allows that Home's division dispersed that of his opponents; a merit ascribed by our historians to Huntley, who was among

^s In a tablet on the monument of Surrey, afterwards Norfolk, (Weaver's Fun. Mon.) the number is computed at 17,000. Polydore Virgil more justly puts 10,000 Scots, and 5000 English. He resided in England, 1510—1550.

1513 the first that fled⁶. The English cavalry appear to have separated Home's division, and forced it to stand on the defensive, till the conflict was nearly decided: perhaps the followers of that peer, who had suffered so much in the late ambuscade, might think they had done their duty, and refuse to renew the charge. It is impossible to perceive from the past, or subsequent, conduct of Home, what advantage he could hope from the death of a king, who highly favoured him and his family: but it is easy to discern that Home's power excited great jealousy during the ensuing regency, and that his enemies exerted every art to blacken his character, before the regent was instigated to put him to death.

Surrey, contented with his victory, did not advance into Scotland. The body of James was discovered by Dacre, and was carried to Berwick, where it was recognized by Sir William Scot, and Sir John Forman, his confidential servants, who had remained captives. It was afterwards interred at Shene or Richmond, by the special permission of Leo X, as James had died under a recent sentence of excommunication, for infringing the solemn pacification with England⁷.

⁶ For Huntley's flight see Hall. For Home's brave resistance, and great loss, the letter of Dacre above quoted. Yet Polydore Virgil blames Home.

⁷ Hall, *ib.* Dacre, in his letter above quoted, says that he found the body of James, (whom he must have well known from his late embassies to his court,) and after informing Surrey by writing, brought it to his presence at Berwick: but how he was treated on the occasion by one Langton of Berwick, is, he adds, well known but not yet punished. The fables of our historians concerning the fate of James are beneath all notice. A curious anecdote, concerning the disposal of the body, may be found in Stow's Survey of London, p. 539, extracted by Sir David Dalrymple in his Remarks on Sc. Hist. p. 152. For the bull of Leo see Rymer, XIII, 385. It mentions that Alexander VI had issued an interdict against James, if he infringed the peace with England (on the marriage treaty,) which he had done. No interdict of Julius, or Leo, appears.

Thus

Thus fell James IV, in the fortieth and first year of his age, ¹⁵¹³ and twenty sixth of his reign; a monarch whose faults were few, but fatal; whose virtues were many but useless. He left only one legitimate child, James his successor: Alexander, who was born near eight months after his father's death, did not live two years. His natural issue were, Alexander archbishop of St. Andrews, and Catherine wedded to the earl of Morton, both by Mary Boyd, daughter of Archibald Boyd of Bonshaw; James earl of Murray, by Jean Kennedy daughter of the earl of Cassils; Margaret, wedded to the heir of Huntley, by Margaret Drummond daughter of lord Drummond; Jean, married to Malcom lord Fleming, by Isabel Stuart daughter of the earl of Buchan^s.

^s Stewart's Gen. 83, 84.

BOOK XII.

BEING

THE FIRST PART OF

THE MINORITY OF JAMES V.

Consequences of the battle of Flodden—English influence—character of Margaret—English incursions—Arran's return—Scotish navy—public disorder—Albany invited—Margaret weds Angus—disposal of benefices—commotions—Williamson's plot—peace with England—Albany arrives—his character—state of the aristocracy—despotism of Albany—Margaret's spirited conduct—the king assigned to the care of three peers—Angus and Home—queen's escape—the regent appeases the south—Home seized—escapes with Arran—Margaret in England—death of prince Alexander—transactions with England—Angus and Home return—negotiations—execution of Home—Albany sails to France—Margaret returns—treaty of Rouen—assassination of De la Bastie—affairs of Denmark—factions of Angus and Arran—queen wishes a divorce—skirmish at Edinburgh—Margaret forms a coalition with Albany, who returns.

1513 **N**O event more immediately calamitous than the defeat at Flodden darkens the Scotish annals. Shrieks of despair resounded through the kingdom. Wives, mothers, daughters, -ushed

1513
rushed into the streets, and highways; tearing their hair, indulging all the distraction of sorrow, while each invoked some favourite name, a husband, a son, a father, a brother, a lover, now blended in one bloody mass of destruction. While the pleasing labours of harvest were abandoned, while an awful silence reigned in the former scenes of rural mirth, the castle and the tower echoed to the lamentations of noble matrons and virgins; the churches and chapels were filled with melancholy processions, to deprecate the divine vengeance, and to chaunt with funereal music the masses of the slain. Nor, amid the pangs of private distress, was the monarch forgotten: the valiant, the affable, the great, the good; who, in an evil hour, had sacrificed to precipitation a reign of virtues; who in the vigour of his life had fallen in a foreign land, and whose mangled body was the prey of his enemies. The national sorrow was heightened by terror at the scene which seemed ready to open, of servitude, and of ruin. France, itself endangered, could afford no aid: the English monarch might little regard the ties of blood, but might wrest from his infant nephew a kingdom left defenceless by the loss of its peers and best warriors. Even now the philosopher, and the historian, may regard this crisis as the most fatal which ever attacked the prosperity of Scotland. The reign of James IV is allowed to have been the period of the highest national success, and a summit, from which the public fortune was gradually to decline, till, in the present century, it again began to ascend. The defeat at Flodden, the death of the king, left the country a prey to foreign influence and intrigue, which continued till Scotland ceased to form a separate kingdom: her finances were exhausted; her leaders corrupted; her dignity degraded; her commerce and her agriculture neglected. Henceforth her historic page aspires little to glory; but still continues deeply
to

1513 to interest by the peculiarity, and variety, and even by the tragical nature, of its events.

The fifth James was not a year and a half old at the time of his father's death. The long minority, about to be delineated, is remarkable for internal intrigue; and particularly for the fixed establishment of the French and English factions in Scotland, which were to continue more or less to distract that ill-fated kingdom, till the close of its existence as a separate state. For many reigns preceding the tyrannic interference of Edward I, Scotland had been devoted to the English interest; and her kings, ignorant of the fabulous alliance with France, had regarded those of England as brothers and friends. When Edward's rash policy, and destructive actions, had ruined all confidence, the connexion with France commenced: and though David II, and James I, discovered some attachment to England, the peers and the nation may be regarded as constantly blending their interests with those of France, and as being even blindly zealous for that country. The impolitic conduct of the English sovereigns had not a little contributed to this effect, by continual exasperation, and frequent war. But on the dawn of more refined policy in the northern kingdoms of Europe, they were at length to perceive that persuasion is more powerful than force; and that the sums expended in fruitless war might be used to real advantage, by the regular pay of a party, so as to assume the government of Scotland without the envy attached to open conquest; or at least to balance the similar arts of France, and, by dividing the coun-

* He was born *about* the 16th of April, as appears from a letter of Magnus, Cal. B. VI, f. 333, mentioning that at Easter 1525 James would attain the age of thirteen. In the Epist. R. S. I, 142, date *duodecimo* as the MS. not *undecimo*: Easter happened on the 11th of April, so that the birth of James is fixed to the 10th of April 1512, by that letter, p. 141.

cils and strength of that small state, render its force ineffectual. 1513
 The ambition of the emperor Charles V, the spirit of the monarchs of France and England, Francis I and Henry VIII, now about to produce some of the most important events in modern history, contribute to render the factious intrigues prevalent in Scotland at this period interesting, as connected with the general history of Europe. The abilities, and fame, of the actors also conspire to render the spectacle illustrious. This new scene is about to open on the reader with singular advantage: the motives, councils, events, and characters, being now, for the first time, to be portrayed from the letters of the principal persons concerned; which are very numerous², and display such original and multifarious materials, that, on comparing the sequel with preceding histories of this reign, the reader will discover almost their constant error, or imperfection. The detail of English policy may perhaps surprize; as it will be seen that Cecil was only the imitator of Wolsey, and, as it appears from the originals, even consulted the dispatches of the cardinal as documents for his own procedure. These previous remarks will, it is hoped, not be found unnecessary to prepare attention, and to introduce with due illustration the subsequent narrative of the minority of James V.

To give the solemn sanction of inauguration to the infant sovereign, and to arrange the plan of government, must, from

² They fill nearly six large folio volumes, in the Cotton Library, Caligula, B. I, II, III, VI, VII, and part of B. VIII. This treasure, to the disgrace of our history, had not been before explored: great attention was indeed necessary, as they remained a chaos without even dates, till the author affixed them on the margin. It is still to be regretted that the arrangement is completely unchronological. The days of the month are always put by the writers, but the years were only to be evidenced by intrinsic circumstances, and often by numerous collateral proofs, in which Rymer's noble collection afforded great assistance.

It may not be improper to repeat that O. implies original, and C. copy.

1513 the indispensable importance of the objects, and in imitation of former precedents, have necessarily attracted as early care, as was admissible by the regular forms, and time required to summon a parliament. It is certain that a national council accordingly met at Perth³; and though our historians unaccountably vary in their dates of the king's coronation, and this parliament be to them unknown, it may be concluded that a ceremony, which it would have been imprudent to have delayed beyond the usual space, was now performed.

about
15 Oct.

In the fatal battle of Flodden most of the Scottish nobility had perished, and the council which urgent necessity summoned to Perth, may be supposed to have consisted chiefly of the eminent clergy. To secure their concurrence with the queen's measures, several bishoprics and abbacies were assigned, or promised⁴. Yet the members departed without any determination concerning the government of the kingdom; they only ordered that the castle of Stirling should be well fortified, and the command given to lord Borthwick, with the important charge of the infant monarch⁵. It seems however to have been agreed that the queen-mother should hold the reins of government, according to her late husband's will, till a fuller parliament

³ Original letter, Dacre to the bishop of Durham, 29 Oct. 1513, Cal. B. III, 11; and another, B. III, 235, dated 19 Oct. from which last it appears that Margaret had been declared Regent, an office only to be conferred in parliament. The first quoted letter mentions a council as having met at Perth, evidently a national one; the royal coronations were usually performed at Scone in the vicinity of that city. Lesley dates this parliament 21 Dec. at Stirling: Buchanan at the same place, 22 Feb. Both are mistaken, for the parliament did not again meet till March, and was prorogued till May; O. Dacre to Henry, 10 March 1514, Cal. B. VI, 48; and same to same 8 April 1514, B. III, 25. Lindsay is nearer the truth, when he asserts that James V was crowned twenty days after the battle of Flodden.

⁴ O. Dacre to Henry, 13 Nov. 1513, Cal. B. VI, 37.

⁵ Ibid.

should

should proceed to the appointment of a regency; for that of 1513
 a woman was unknown in Scotland, and of dubious success }
 after the failure of the widows of James I and his successor;
 that of an English woman, invidious at all times, was yet more
 to be feared during a war with England. The English faction
 was yet to form; and the French began to murmur, and to
 think of the duke of Albany, John the son of Alexander ban-
 nished by his brother James III, and who was undoubtedly
 next heir to the monarchy, if the progeny of his cousin
 James IV should fail. But this prince remaining in France
 was distant from their vows; and the recent example of Ri-
 chard III of England occasioned some terror at the prospect of
 committing royal children to the charge of their uncle. Nor
 would it have been prudent further to have irritated Henry VIII,
 by manifesting any disrespect to his sister at this crisis; not to
 mention that the queen interested the wishes of the people by
 her situation, being in the third month of her pregnancy, and,
 as it proved, of a son, Alexander duke of Rofs⁶, who was
 born in the following April, but died in his second year.

The royal widow appears to have merited, and possessed,
 the admiration of all ranks; and as she continues to occupy
 much attention, during the various and stormy scenes of this
 long minority, some account of her character may not be here
 improper. Margaret was now in her twenty-fourth year; and
 her youthful beauty and graces rather proclaimed the bride,
 than the widow. Her circular countenance displaying gaiety,
 her vivacious eyes, her person rather rustic than delicate, were
 accompanied with a corresponding vigour of health⁷. Her
 amorous propensities were strong; and were to be indulged at

⁶ Not Rothsay, as some of our historians, a title sacred to the eldest son of
 the monarch: the coeval letters unanimously style him Rofs.

⁷ A good whole length portrait exists at Hampton-court.

1513 the expence of ambition and decency, in precipitate marriages; and, if we believe her brother and Wolsey, in yet bolder deviations⁸. But eminent in accomplishments, and in prudence when unbiaſſed by her paſſions, her talents throw her faults into the ſhade. Her long letters⁹ diſplay an intimate knowledge of affairs, and characters, conſiderable ability, and patient induſtry. In her political conduct ſhe was not free from the levity aſcribed to the ſex, and was apt to paſs from one extreme to another; and, when in power, alternately to diſplay too much pride or too much humility, a ſeverity too ſtern or a gentleneſs too relaxed. Yet the times were difficult; and that wiſdom could not be mean which attracted the praiſe of the able Dacre, of the prudent and magnanimous Surrey, and of the cautious cardinal¹, a praiſe not to be ſuſpected of flattery, becauſe neither pronounced nor known to the object.

The ariſtocracy of Scotland was at this time ſo much diminiſhed, and weakened, that the queen's attempt to gain the regency was not ſo arduous, as it might have proved at another period. The peers, who amounted to about forty at the cloſe of the late reign, were now reduced to nearly half the number, by extinction or by nonage. In a meeting of the ſtates, ſome time after this period², we only find the names of Angus, Argyle, Arran, Errol, Morton, Eglinton, Home, Sempil, Roſs, Erſkine, and Yeſter. Among perhaps an equal number abſent on this occaſion, Huntley and Crawford deſerve parti-

⁸ See the year 1521.

⁹ They often fill ten, or twelve, folio pages, wholly written with her own hand.

¹ In various letters which paſſed among thoſe three eminent perſons, to be found in the above collection.

² Rymer, XIII, 509: 15 May 1515.

cular mention, being the most powerful lords in the north, as ¹⁵¹³ Angus and Home were in the south.

Meanwhile the war with England continued to desolate the Scottish borders. The deputies for the magistrates of Edinburgh, who were themselves in the field of war, published, the day after the battle of Flodden, a spirited proclamation, ordering the inhabitants to prepare for defence, in consequence of a melancholy rumour which had arisen; and prohibiting the women to spread dismay through the streets, by their tears, shrieks, and lamentations³. New and dreadful was the epoch which called for such a mandate: but the apprehensions were vain, as Surrey unexpectedly dismissed his army. His motives for this conduct remain unexplained: his force was certainly weakened by the conflict, and he was perhaps unwilling to commit his signal success to the envy of chance: yet the want of provisions and ammunition seems to have formed the chief obstacle; an attending fleet having been always found necessary to victual the English army in invading Scotland; repeated experience having taught the Scots to withdraw their cattle, and stores, into distant heights, woods, and wilds. Henry, engaged in a war with France, could not spare a naval force; but with eager commands and reproaches he excited lord Dacre of the North, warden of the eastern marches, to frequent inroads. This nobleman was alike eminent in warlike prowess, and in political talents, and was to act a most important part in the minority of James V, being,

³ It is published by Sir D. Dalrymple in his Remarks on the Hist. of S. p. 147. George Touris was vice-provoost, ib. The family of Touris (Towers) of Innerleith often occurs in Scotstarvet's Calendars, from the reign of James I. In 1538 the family seems to have passed to Bristol in England, (perhaps as protestants,) for, in that year, a charter of part of Innerleith is granted by George Touris of Bristol.

1513 as it were, a deputy for Henry and Wolsey, in the manage-
 ment of the English interest in Scotland. His papers fortu-
 nately remain; and not only unveil his art and industry, but
 convey the most authentic historical materials for many facts,
 before misrepresented or unknown. Home, who was the
 18 Oct. chamberlain of Scotland, and at the same time warden of the
 marches, met Dacre in order to negotiate for the ransom of
 some English prisoners; but Home was at this time warmly
 inimical to the English interest, and the meeting was followed
 by no effect, save repeated incursions into Scotland⁴. The
 waters being swelled with rain prevented Dacre's former in-
 tention of leading four thousand men into the Scottish borders;
 and, as was usual on these occasions, he was forced to await
 a certain age of the moon, before he led his men to toils and
 to prey, which the shortness of the day might have rendered
 unsafe or ineffectual⁵. Some small, but destructive, inroads
 were however made⁶: and Dacre being unjustly suspected of
 favouring Home, he caused his marauders particularly to ravage
 about
 28 Oct. the manor of Irwin, belonging to the chamberlain, in order
 to evince the falsity of the charge⁷. These petty insults did

⁴ O. Dacre to the bishop of Durham, dated Carlisle 19th Oct. 1513, Cal. B. III, 235.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ O. Bishop of Durham to Wolsey, 24 Oct. 1513, Cal. B. VI, 40. Wolsey is here styled the Almoner; and it is not unuseful in chronology to add a brief note of his progressive preferments, from Fiddes's life of that child of fortune.

Wolsey was rector of Lymington in 1500—chaplain to the king about 1505—Rector of Redgrave 1506—Envoy to Maximilian 1507—Dean of Lincoln 1508—Almoner to Henry VIII, 1509—Canon of Windsor 1510—Dean of York, (but Almoner still the chief dignity,) 1512—Bishop of Lincoln, March 1514—Archbishop of York, Aug. 1514—Cardinal and chancellor 1515—Legate a latere 1516. His fall dates 1529; his death 1530.

⁷ O. Dacre to bishop of Durham, 29 Oct. 1513. Cal. B. III, 11.

not however correspond with Henry's intention; who by ¹⁵¹³ letters to Dacre, from Tournay, dated the 30th of September and the 10th of October, had ordered that lords Dacre and D'Arcy should make three great incursions, the former from the western and from the middle marches, the latter from the eastern; and one thousand marks were promised to support the expence: the English monarch at the same time commanded that no Scottish gentlemen, taken prisoners at Flodden, should be released till his pleasure were known; but to this Dacre answers that the few taken had mostly been ransomed before, the money having been paid to the individuals who had captured them⁸. In compliance with the above injunctions it appears that at least one strong inroad was made by Dacre on the middle marches. That leader, and his brother, entered Scotland, at the head of three thousand horse, and only about three hundred infantry, cavalry being more suited to such expeditions: dividing into detachments, they gave to the flames the towns of Rowcastle and Langton upon the Teviot; took two forts, and burned the roofs and floors. Amid this destruction a considerable prey was collected, and carried off, though, upon Home's appearance with about two thousand followers, the English retired⁹. It is hoped that the minuteness of these details will be pardoned, as they are not only new, but completely overturn the ridiculous praises bestowed on Henry's lenity, at this crisis, by former Scottish historians.

As the Scottish navy forms a subject little known, any anecdotes concerning it become interesting. The voyage to France, in the middle of this eventful year, has been narrated under

⁸ O. Dacre to Henry in answer, 22 Oct. 1513. B. VI, 42. Dacre says he took no prisoners, for his band made "even work" before them.

⁹ O. Dacre to Henry 13 Nov. 1513, B. VI, 37, a curious and important letter concerning Scottish affairs.

1513 the preceding reign. With this expedition the Scottish mariners and foldiers were little satisfied; and the Great Michael was run aground, and almost lost; yet John, one of the celebrated Bartons, proceeded to France, with some other vessels of war; but he sickened, and was landed, and died, at Kircudbright¹. Arran, whom Dacre styles the admiral, and who aspired to the regency from his connexion with the royal blood, now returned to Scotland with part of the navy; three of the largest ships having been left in France, and they were afterwards sold there by Albany. With Arran came a French knight², with letters of credence from the French king, and the duke of Albany, who already began to prepare the public expectation of his regency. Nor, among the smaller events of this period, must it be omitted that David Ker of Fernihurst entered by force upon the abbey of Kelso, and enjoyed his intrusion³.

1514 Hostilities continuing with England, Andrew Brownhill, Jan. and Antony D'Arcy lord de la Bastie, proceeded on an embassy to Denmark, in the name of the Scottish and French monarchs, to represent the distressed situation of Scotland, and to solicit from their Danish ally subsidies of men and ammunition⁴. But the new sovereign Christiern II appears to have paid little regard to these solicitations. To add to the embarrassments of Scotland, the emperor, being in alliance with England, interdicted the Scottish commerce with his dominions. Dacre not only continued to infest the borders with repeated incursions, but retained several spies in Scotland, to enable

¹ Ibid. ² Ibid. Apparently de la Bastie.

³ Ibid. This intelligence of Nov. 1513 shews the error of Buchanan, and others, who date this event in September, and build upon it an hypothesis concerning the death of James IV.

Epist. R. S. I, 185, 186.

him to receive the freshest intelligence, and sow intestine division: among these spies the prioress of the nunnery of Coldstream was to be one of the most useful⁵. The ecclesiastics continued their warm and indecent disputes for the fees and abbacies, rendered vacant by the slaughter of several eminent churchmen at Flodden. Great was the public disorder; and the council of state was in vain frequently assembled, for the young peers opposed the prudent resolves of the aged⁶. A parliament was fixed for the twentieth day of March⁷, but the council postponed it to the fifteenth of May, after ordaining that the castles should be given to the custody of captains chosen by them. Crawford was appointed chief justice beyond the Forth, and Home to the same high office in the south. A bill for the duke of Albany's restitution to his parental estates was given in, and read, but not decided: nor were the difficulties small, for, among others, the lands of March had been assigned as a part of the queen's jointure. Yet Ilay herald was sent to invite Albany to assume the regency, apparently with the assent of the queen, who was disgusted with the vain exercise of an authority merely nominal; and, was moreover not indisposed to the French interest, as some propositions had arisen which indicated that Louis XII designed to demand her in marriage, in order to secure a peace with England⁸; but which was to be effected this year by an alliance with her younger sister. April

Albany's arrival was delayed by the French monarch, as his government in Scotland might have proved an obstacle to

⁵ O. Dacre to Henry, 10 March 1514. Cal. B. VI, 48.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ All these particulars, so remote from historical accounts, are from O. Dacre to Henry, 8 April 1514, Cal. B. III, 25. If the French king incline to marry her, he may have her, says Dacre.

1514 the treaty negotiating between England and France. The public expectation of his regency was great, and it was regarded as the sole remedy which could terminate the disorders of the kingdom. Nor were some wanting, who, either from malice or from too much zeal, openly proposed his assumption of the Scottish sceptre, as a measure necessary for the security of the state¹.

Amid such violence of party the public confusion was increased by a variance which arose between Home and the youthful earl of Angus, who had just succeeded his grandfather in that potent title, his father having been slain at Flodden. They often met in arms; but the intervention of mutual friends, or of authority, prevented bloodshed². In the north of Scotland Robertson of Strowan, with a band of eight hundred followers, ravaged Athole, and the neighbouring parts; but he was soon taken and executed³.

30 April The queen being delivered of a posthumous son⁴, the meeting of parliament was delayed till her recovery, and did not take place till July, when a temporary regency was settled, by Albany's consent, on the queen, and some lords, apparently James Beton archbishop of Glasgow, and the earls of Huntley, Angus, and Arran⁵. The king and his brother were, with the queen's approbation, assigned to the custody of three prudent peers. She notified these measures to Henry VIII; and at the same time informed him of her desire of concord between her brother and France, and herself and Albany, and besought him to second her wishes⁶.

¹ O. Christopher Coe to Wolsey 1 April 1514. B. VI, 77. ² Ibid.

³ Buch. XIII. 47. Lesley, 382, dates this event 1516, and he is a superior chronologer. On the 20th June 1515 a *comprizing* was led by Athole against Robertson of Strowan. Scott. Cal. The point is minute and doubtful.

⁴ Lesl. 369. ⁵ O. Margaret to Dacre 20 Aug. 1514, B. VI, 78. ⁶ Ibid.

To the surprize and regret of all ranks, Margaret hardly ¹⁵¹⁴ recovered from the languor of childbirth, suddenly wedded the ^{6 Aug.} earl of Angus⁶, instigated in all appearance solely by the effervescence of amorous inclination; for this precipitate step was ruinous to her ambition, as of itself, by the royal will, and by the law of the country, it terminated her regency. In the progress of time however various incidents will contribute to restore her power; and she continued to attract great attention by the splendor of her birth and former station, by the art of her intrigues, and the boldness of her talents. The nobility of Scotland were, at this period, little remarkable for natural abilities, and far less for those which depend on learning; the clergy had engrossed all that belongs to acquired knowledge, and political capacity; but among the Scottish nobles Angus was perhaps the most uninformed, and unfit for his dangerous elevation, for his royal marriage prompted him to assume much of the vacant government, and the queen's fondness seconded his ambition. Experience, and maturer age, will display him in a different light; but at this time his years, and his instruction, partook of puerility⁷. A birth distinguished by an ancestry of heroes, opulent possessions, a potent vassalry, above all a person blooming with youth and elegance, transported the woman, while they ruined the queen; and bitter and speedy was the repentance.

A treaty was at length completed between England and ^{7 Aug.} France, and cemented by the marriage of Louis XII to Mary the sister of the Scottish dowager. Scotland was to be included, if upon a notification of the peace she testified a desire to that effect; but if the Scots invaded England after the

⁶ Less. 370.

⁷ In a letter to the English council, 7 Aug. 1515, B. II, 301, Dacre describes Angus as "childish young," and accompanied by no wise counsellors.

1514 15th of September, before which date the notification was to be made, the comprehension was to become null^s. No invasion took place, but petty incursions continued to be made by the Scots; and it was not till the following May that they formally accepted the treaty; the internal confusions, the difficulty of adjusting the affairs of the marches, the knowledge of Henry's pacific intentions, the sudden death of Louis XII, deference to Albany, and repeated expectations of his arrival, affording various and successive causes for this delay. Add to these that the terror arising from the recent disaster had past away; and the nation was animated with a fruitless desire of revenge.

The Scottish kings maintained their privilege, or prerogative, of appointing to the vacant sees and abbacies the objects of their own choice, notwithstanding the papal pretensions usurped in some other countries. Repeated letters to the pope, and senate of cardinals⁸, concerning the new appointments now necessary, supported the royal claim; though they allowed the consent of the popes to be an indispensable form to complete the election. The vacant dignities were thus assigned: the metropolitan see of St. Andrews to William Elphinston the learned and celebrated bishop of Aberdeen, the bishopric of Aberdeen to George abbot of Holyroodhouse; the abbacy of Holyroodhouse to him of Cambuskenneth, the latter dignity to the bishop of Caithness, Arbroth to Gawin Douglas, Dunfermlin to James Hepburn, Inchaffray to Alexander Stuart, Glenluce to the bishop of Lismore or Argyle, Coldingham to David Hume, all persons of eminent families⁹. The letters to Leo X are addressed in the name of the king, and of the queen dow-

⁸ Rymer, XIII, 419.

⁹ Epist. R. S. I, 197, 204, 207.

¹⁰ Ibid. 199.

ager as "testamentary tutrix of the king." As the ecclesi- 1514
 astic dignities presented almost the only path to opulence, the
 commerce of the country being confined, and its pursuits little
 known to persons of rank, it is no wonder that warm contests
 had arisen concerning the promotions. The death of the
 venerable Elphinston, in his seventy seventh year, renewed 25 Oct.
 the ambitious scene². Of the other names Gawin Douglas
 alone deserves to be known to posterity; and the son and uncle
 of earls of Angus, the now postulate of Arbroth and future
 bishop of Dunkeld, is not only celebrated as an eminent poet,
 but as an actor in the theatre of history³.

The English and Scottish commissioners met at Berwick; Nov.
 but the absence of Angus occasioned a delay prejudicial to the
 English borders, for the Scots made inroads into Glendale and
 Ilandshire, despoiled towns, and made captives⁴. The in-
 testine disputes now arose to the utmost height. The expecta-
 tion of Albany's speedy arrival excited the confidence of his
 adherents; while Henry, disgusted by his sister's marrying
 without his consent, and by the appointment of Albany to the
 regency, rather studied to increase the flames of discord, than
 to maintain a firm and regulated party. Albany now de-
 manded Dunbar castle, as a part of the earldom of March,
 which was infeoffed to Margaret with the exception of that
 important fortress, justly regarded as a key of the kingdom.
 It was accordingly rendered to his commissioner D'Arcy de la

² Less. 372. Keith Bishops, 70, ex obit. Glasg.

³ Margaret in a letter to her brother Henry, 23 Nov. 1514, B. I, 164, in-
 forms him, that Home had assumed all the power, and had seized the escheat of
 a bastard worth 10,000*l.* Scots; and that she is at great expence, having always
 1000 men in wages: she desires Henry to hasten an army, and navy; and that
 her letters signed only "Margaret R." may be regarded as constrained, while
 her willing signature is "Your loving sister Margaret R."

⁴ O. Council at York to Wolsey, 5 Nov. 1514, B. VI, 79.

1514 **Bastie**⁹. The queen began to be treated with disrespect. She was brought from Stirling to Edinburgh by Arran and Home, in expectation of the chancellor and council being willing to support her authority; but she was disappointed, and returned with Angus to Stirling¹. The new chancellor who now first appears² after a vacancy of that great office, since the death of its last possessor in the field of Flodden, was James Beton archbishop of Glasgow, and afterwards of St. Andrews, an ambitious prelate, and a warm partizan of Albany, and of the French interest. He was probably appointed chancellor in the parliament of July; and was to act a distinguished part during this minority. An additional insult to the queen arose from the election of Hepburn, prior of St. Andrews, to that eminent see, by the chapter; though Margaret had eagerly supported Gawin Douglas, her uncle-in-law. The servants of Douglas had even seized the archiepiscopal castle; but were besieged by Hepburn, whose claim was favoured by most of the nobility, at this time, (if we only except the family of Angus,) unanimously inimical to the queen, and to the English interest. Angus rode with two hundred horse to rescue the castle³; but the attempt was fruitless, and Hepburn retained for a short time the fortress and nominal dignity; till, by the intercession of Albany at Rome, it was conferred on Andrew Dec. Forman, bishop of Moray, an artful and avaricious prelate, whose character is already depicted in the preceding book. Not contented with the archbishopric of Bourges in France, and the abbey of Cottingham in England, and other rewards

⁹ O. Dacre to the Council, 27 Nov. 1514. B. I, 154.

¹ Ibid.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid. and letter Margaret to Henry, 23 Nov. before quoted. Never was there so much tumult in Scotland, says Dacre, "which pray God continue." Pious malevolence!

of treachery to his king and country, his avarice and ambition ¹⁵¹⁴ aspired to, and gained, the metropolitan office and opulence; nay, along with this, the abbacies of Dunfermlin and Arbroth, to the great disgust of the queen, Angus, and their adherents ⁴.

The earls of Lennox and Glencairn, embracing the opportunity of a dark and tempestuous night, seized the castle of Dunbarton by breaking open the lower gate, and ejecting Erskine the governor ⁵, in all appearance the creature of the queen. The enmity of the earls of Angus and Arran proceeded to such a height, that they collected large bands of their followers, and ravaged each other's possessions ⁶. Margaret's precipitate marriage had alienated all the nobility; the English interest, which faintly dawned during her short regency, was completely lost, although Henry encouraged a report that he intended the elder son of his sister to be his successor in England, while the younger swayed the Scottish sceptre ⁷. His stern and impetuous temper could little stoop to dissimulation; and he was now exerting all his art and influence to persuade the queen to leave Scotland, where she could no longer serve his designs, and privately to convey both the royal infants into England. Adam Williamson, a native of Scotland ⁸, probably an ecclesiastic but established in England, and now

⁴ Less. 374. Buchanan's praise of this avaricious primate must proceed either from misinformation, or gratitude. His numerous benefices sufficiently confirm the covetous and designing character, assigned to him in the original letters. The connection of Albany with Hepburn is unknown in these records, and seems contradicted by this incident.

⁵ Less. ib. O. Sir James Inglis to Williamson, 21 Jan. 1515, B. I, 22. Perhaps it was on Arran's account, who aspired to the regency, that Lennox thus acted, for they soon appear in strict alliance. Less. 380.

⁶ Less. 374. ⁷ O. Lord Fleming to 11 Dec. 1514, B. I, 25.

⁸ For he terms James, and Rofs, "my natyf kyng and prince." C. Adam Williamson to Margaret 27 Jan. 1515. B. III, 152.

1514 a confidential envoy or spy of the English interest, eagerly promoted this dark design; but without success as shall presently be explained.

1515 Amid the public tumults and distraction, opens the year one thousand five hundred and fifteen, replete with the most surprising events and changes of fortune, and which was for the first time to present to the astonished nation a deputy from France, publicly declaring the French monarch his master, in the august character of Regent of Scotland. The death of 3 Jan. Louis XII, and accession of Francis I, occasioned no alteration in the politics of France; and the new monarch soon after confirmed the peace concluded with England⁹. Yet these events contributed to protract the arrival of Albany in Scotland till the month of May.

11 Jan. Meanwhile the national disorders increased to such a degree, that it became impossible to pass from one place to another except in armed companies¹. Angus having met Lennox in a conference at Glasgow, was waited for on his return by an ambuscade of six hundred men provided with artillery, and placed by Arran, sometimes styled lord Hamilton, to destroy his mortal foe: but a scout of the Hamiltons being taken by the followers of Angus the scheme failed. Hamilton then requested the presence of Home the chamberlain, Cassils, and Sempil, at Lanark, and proposed to them to besiege Angus in one of his castles, but the chamberlain dissented². Nor could the

⁹ 14 March, Rymer, XIII, 476. Hungary, Scotland, Portugal, Denmark, Navarre, are included on the part of France, p. 482.

¹ O. Sir James Inglis to Williamson, 21 Jan. 1515, B. I, 22.

² Ibid. The castle is named *Cowtheler*.

In this curious letter Sir James also mentions his own attachment to England, and his kind reception by Dacre and Magnus: a report had even arisen that he had conveyed James into England. He adds that it is the custom of Scotland for

the fallen power of the queen resent this attempt on the life of ¹⁵¹⁵ her husband; and her revenues being dilapidated she was unable to maintain even a pecuniary influence. Yet the bishopric of Dunkeld now becoming vacant, she retained interest sufficient to procure that see, the third in the realm³, for Gawin Douglas; that of St. Andrews, to which he aspired, being now filled by Forman, who by the intercession of Albany at Rome, and the power of the Homes, had ejected Hepburn. The new archbishop held the dignity seven years, and his expenditure equalling his avarice and ambition, he proved a powerful friend to Albany, and even now lent the greatest support to his pretensions; and in return became the chief manager of ecclesiastic promotions. Yet shame prevented any further opposition to Gawin Douglas, and the interest of the English king at Rome was requested⁴, and probably exerted, in his behalf. The power of the queen also began somewhat to revive by the accession of the powerful earl of Huntley, and some peers addicted to him, to her party⁵; the motives of this change are not apparent, but probably arose from the appointment of Crawford to the administration of justice on the north for every man to speak freely, that the servant was more abundant in his own sense than the master; and that none of God's commands was observed except the first, and that in no great degree. He knows not on whose behalf Lennox has taken Dunbarton; but lord Drummond has induced Huntley and Marshall to join the queen: and he concludes with an injunction of strict secrecy. The subscription is, "Tuus English."

Sir James was not a knight, but a clergyman, the *Sir* being a common addition of every chaplain in that time. He appears to have been a relation of Mr. Alex. Inglis, archdeacon of St. Andrews. See 1531.

³ O. Gawin Douglas to Williamson, 18 Jan. 1515, Cal. B. II. 292. It was only surpassed by the two archbishoprics.

⁴ O. Gawin Douglas to Dacre, 21 Jan. 1515, Cal. B. I, 27. O. Margaret to Henry, 22 Jan. Cal. B. III, 273.

⁵ O. Gawin Douglas to Williamson, 18 Jan. Cal. B. II, 292.

of

1515 of the Forth, an office worthy of Huntley's rivalry and envy.
 By the advice of this peer the queen ordered a parliament to be proclaimed, to be held at Perth on the twelfth day of March⁶.

Yet Henry, despairing of managing Scotland by supporting his sister's power, persisted, by the intermediation of Dacre, in his attempt to persuade Margaret secretly to convey herself, and her sons, into England. This disgraceful plot was conducted, as above mentioned, by Adam Williamson, who used every artifice, and exhausted every offer of advantage, to win the queen's consent, and the intercession of Gawin Douglas, in support of this desperate scheme. To the former he presented the ambitious hope that her son would be declared apparent heir of the English throne⁷; to the latter he displayed promises of whatever Scottish benefices he pleased, by Henry's influence at Rome, and as warm a welcome at the English court, as he could have expected at the castle of Douglas, the chief residence of Angus his nephew⁸. In a letter to Gawin

20 Jan. Douglas, sent by Sir James Inglis secretary to queen Margaret, and who was apparently concerned in the design, Williamson enforces the proposal; and brands Forman, whom he still calls bishop of Moray, with a charge of treason, and the celebrated Panter, secretary to the council, with falsehood, because he

21 Jan. feared their penetration⁹. Douglas in his answer firmly rejects the proposal, though he was at that time soliciting Henry's interest for his promotion, and informs Williamson that the queen and her sons cannot safely be conveyed to England; that

⁶ Ibid. ⁷ O. Williamson to G. Douglas, 20 Jan. 1515, B. VI, 113.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Ibid. "False Panter;" the bishop of Moray, a traitor, has acquired all the best benefices in Scotland. The charge of treason against this prelate, who sold his benefactor James IV to France, is not unfounded.

the queen might herself go, but not without peril and impropriety; that Henry's letters will terminate all debates, and he will be as well obeyed by most of the Scottish lords as at London; that if Henry would send an army to support the queen and infant king, numbers would accede, for the Scots were so oppressed that they would prefer even the Turkish dominion to the constant ravages of freebooters¹. In a letter to Dacre 22 Jan. the queen expressed her own sentiments, with those of her husband and uncle-in-law, that the scheme was unsafe if not impracticable². At the same time she ordered Williamson to return to England, but gave him a letter of credence to Henry in which she informs her brother that she regrets the impossibility of her fulfilling his desire, as she is surrounded by constant guards and spies; but were she a woman of so little note that she could carry her children in her arms, she would not long be absent from him: Margaret adds that she has exhausted her pecuniary resources, and that if no supply be sent she must accede to some other party; a claim, and an honest or at least open duplicity, not unfrequent in her correspondence: she concludes with referring Henry to Williamson for any other information³. Dacre and Williamson repeated their efforts to accomplish this design; the former represented to the queen that, even if Albany did not arrive, her enemies might seize the royal children, and the supreme power; that it was in vain for her to pretend that she would abide by the advice of the lords of her council in this matter; and that, if she consent, he will undertake to convey her and the children from Douglas

¹ O. Gawin Douglas to Williamson, 21 Jan. B. II, 291. The queen might retire to England, but with danger, and "nocht honestly."

² O. Margaret to Dacre, 22 Jan. B. I, 28.

³ O. Margaret to Henry, 22 Jan. B. III, 273.

1515 castle, or any place within ten miles on the south of Stirling⁴.
 Williamson reinforces the offers to the queen, and Gawin Douglas; insinuates his attachment to the infant king, and duke of Ross, as his native princes; and affects disinterestedness by commemorating the loss of his property in Scotland, occasioned by his zeal for the queen and her sons: the apprehensions of danger he attempts to repel by the speed, and ease, with which Dacre could conduct the fugitives to Carlisle⁵. But all these temptations were vain; and when the eternal infamy and ruin, which would have attended the house of Angus after such an attempt, are considered, greater surprize will be excited by the insidious depravity of Henry, than by the prudent conduct of the queen and her adherents; for the proposition was in itself an insult, as it implied those, whose ears it polluted, to be capable of so great a political crime.

Of the parliament, proclaimed to be held on the twelfth day of March, no record appears, except a slight notice of Lesley the historian, who informs us that a national council met about this time, but such were the dissensions that it was agreed to postpone it till the arrival of Albany now daily expected, for Sir John Stirling of Keir had landed from France with a
 14 Mar. message of that purport⁶. Francis I having solemnly ratified the peace entered into with England by his predecessor, Scotland continued to be included, though she had not as yet accepted this benefit. The distracted state of that country prevented any attack on England: and Henry was now using arts which open force would only have defeated. So successful were those arts that Albany's government was undermined,

⁴ O. Dacre to Margaret, 27 Jan. B. II, 244.

⁵ O. Williamson to Margaret, 27 Jan. B. III, 152.

⁶ Less. 375. O. Gawin Douglas, in future to be styled bishop of Dunkeld, to Wolsey, 27 Feb. 1515, B. I, 77.

before it was established; and two years of constant inquietude were to terminate his first residence in Scotland, in the character of Regent. It has already been related that Huntley had acceded to the queen's party; and the arts and offers of Dacre now determined Home to embrace the same measures. The articles offered to this nobleman by Margaret yet remain:⁷ 12 May upon condition that he support her and Angus, she agrees, among other advantages, to give him the sum of three thousand marks. Home warmly embraced the English interest; and his enmity to Albany brought him soon to the scaffold. It appears that Albany had long before used the power of a regent, and had disgusted some of the nobles by not granting their demands. D'Arcy de la Bastie, a knight of valour and talents, had remained in Scotland as a delegate of the future regent; and many were averse to this influence of a foreigner.

La Vaire and Villebrefme, ambassadors from France, having arrived in Scotland, to signify the desire of Francis and Albany that the Scots should accept the comprehension in the treaty⁸, and Baltazar Stuart the papal nuntio joining his efforts to that effect⁹, the pacification was at length solemnly admitted by the Scottish government. In a letter from the council of state, in the name of the infant king, to the French monarch, this inclusion is received with great spirit: the council assert that Scotland, after its recent loss had resumed courage, and, hoping revenge, had never even mentioned a truce; but that to please Francis and the pontiff, and promote the proposed war against

⁷ O. Cal. B. II, 226. That Home had been instigated by Dacre against Albany appears from a letter of Dacre to the Council, 7 Aug. 1515, B. II, 301.

⁸ O. La Vaire and Villebrefme to Wolsey, 7 May 1515, B. VI, 104.

⁹ O. Baltazar Stuart to Wolsey, 4 May 1515, B. VI, 109; whence it also appears that D'Arcy was regarded as the deputy of Albany.

1515 the Turks, the Scottish sovereign had approved and ratified the treaty¹.

Great was the general expectation of Albany's presence; and the delay of a year had raised that expectation to eager desire. His arrival was fondly longed for, as the sole remedy of the public disorders, as the sole pledge of a tranquillity, so much the more happy as it was to succeed the darkest tempests of anarchy. The young, and the turbulent, were not averse to the novelty; the old, and the peaceable, sighed for the protection and stability of a regular government. This event at length happened. Albany arrived at Dunbarton on the 18 May eighteenth of May with eight ships, apparently part of the fleet of James IV, laden with ammunition, and warlike stores, and with yet stronger implements of government, the gold and luxuries of France². The peers and chiefs crowded to his presence; and his exotic elegance of manners, his condescension, his affability, his courtly deportment, won all hearts. Proceeding to Glasgow he reconciled some of the discordant 26 May nobles by power and persuasion. He thence advanced to Edinburgh the capital city, where he was received with the magnificence due to a sovereign; and the citizens displayed their arts and opulence in rude comedies, and multifarious exhibitions of barbaric splendor and elegance. Nor did the queen refuse her presence, who meeting him at the gate of the palace of Holyroodhouse, great professions of affected kindness were interchanged³.

¹ Rymer, XIII, 508, 509.

² Buch. XIV, 1. Less. 375, Lindsay, 192. The dates vary, as usual, for chronology is unknown to our historians. A letter of James to the pope, 3 July 1515, fixes Albany's arrival to the 18th May. Rymer, XIII, 513.

³ Less. 375, 376.

As soon as the forms would permit a parliament was assembled at Edinburgh, where the first care, after the restitution of his honours and estates, was to inaugurate Albany in the regency, a ceremony performed with invidious splendor. A sword was delivered; a crown was placed upon his head; and the peers paid solemn obeisance, while Albany was, with martial music, proclaimed Protector and Governor of Scotland, till the king had attained the age of eighteen years, that is till April one thousand five hundred and thirty ⁴. 1515
12 July

John duke of Albany, son of that Alexander who has been seen attempting to wrest the Scottish sceptre from his brother James III, whom he termed a bastard, cannot be supposed to have been warmly attached to the royal race; and there were not wanting some whose malice already saw the crown of Scotland on his head, tinged with infant blood⁵. But such a prospect probably never existed, save in the jealous eye, or wanton calumny, of faction. His character is so mixed, that it is very difficult to delineate it with precision. To Surrey and to Wolsey he appeared a coward and a fool, as they bluntly express their sensations⁶; and his government in Scotland, so inconsistent, so constantly foiled in every scheme, rather seems to warrant the harshness of the appellations. Yet Francis I, a good judge of merit, was afterwards to employ him in important affairs: when that king was before Pavia, in 1525, Albany was to be detached with a part of the army to conquer the kingdom of Naples, an enterprize demanding a general of supreme talents, but the defeat and cap-

⁴ O. Dacre to the Council of England, 1 Aug. 1515. B. II, 281.

⁵ Margaret's Information, 1516. B. VI, 105.

⁶ Particularly Wolsey, who in a letter to Surrey, 1523, Cal. B. VI, 218, says Albany, "is known to be a coward, and a furious and wilful fool."

1515 } ture of Francis rendered the plan abortive⁷: in 1533, when that monarch was to meet the pontiff Clement VII at Marseilles, Albany was to be distinguished by the appointment of conducting by sea Catherine de Medici, the destined wife of Henry, second son of the king, afterwards Henry II; an office at least implying confidence and favour, and a brother of Albany was, according to Guicciardini, created a cardinal upon occasion of that service⁸. The friendship of Francis I is itself a recommendation: yet an intimate acquaintance with the actions and papers of Albany may authorize the following character of his government. It was artful yet weak, profuse yet unfriended, tyrannic yet inefficient: while love and attachment were estranged by caprice, fear and awe were not supported by uniform rigour: opiniative obstinacy disconcerted the prudence of friends, and prevented the conciliation of enemies. A stranger to the arts of empire, Albany, whom just policy ought to have transformed into a complete Scottishman, never forgot his French birth; and the haughty vanity of that nation, which he displayed without a veil, yet further disgusted the

⁷ Guicciardini lib. XV, XVI, p. 1195, 1221, edit. 1561, 8vo, "il duca d'Albania, come hebbe auviso della calamita del Re, ritirato per salvarsi, &c." Rabelais in his letters, (Oeuv. III, 5, edit. Amst. 1741, 4to,) has the following remark on this occasion, "Voila que fait mauvais avis, de partir son ost devant la victoire. Les François en scauroient bien que dire, quand de devant Pavie Monsieur d'Albanie emmena la fleur et la force du camp."

⁸ Lib. XX, p. 471, 473, edit. 1564, 4to. the original editions are used. This brother was only uterine, his name Philippe de la Chambre. Mezeray, Abr. IV, 575, edit. Amst. 1688.

The favour of Francis was such, that Albany was admitted to his chamber, when no prince of France dared to approach. O. letter English embassador in France, Cal. D. VIII, not paged. But this courtesy appears to have arisen from Albany's facetious conversation: and a jest of the duke, who misrepresented to Clement VII the desire of some French ladies to *use flesh* in lent, has been preserved by Brantome, Dames Gal. II, 356.

Scots,

Scots, a people then from remote situation, and want of intercourse, inimical to foreigners, when they beheld their regent surrounded with French officers and confidents, and heard him submit to term the king of France his master, an epithet he frequently used even in his dispatches⁷; nor was the very signature of his name in French regarded as a trifle⁸. Even his private faults contributed to disgrace him. Surrey, in a letter to Wolsey, mentions upon the authority of Dacre, that the regent was so opiniative, that no counsel but his own was followed even when among his familiar friends; and his wilfulness was such that, upon the slightest contradiction, he would throw his bonnet into the fire, in which mode of argument he had consumed near a dozen of those missive syllogisms. Surrey adds, with the prophetic eye of skill, "if he be such a man, with God's grace, we shall speed the better;" a prediction soon fulfilled⁹. Of Albany's person little is remarked: even his age is unknown; though he appears to have exceeded his thirtieth year. His mother was the daughter of the earl of Bologne, his father's second wife¹; but by the first, a daughter of the earl of Orkney, a son was alive, Alexander Stuart, educated to the church, commendator of Inchaffray, afterwards abbot of Scone, and bishop of Moray. The regent had himself been married in 1505 to Anne de la Tour, sole heiress of the county d'Auvergne, the maternal aunt of the future Catherine de Medici²; his wife's estate in France was great,

⁷ Cal. B. VI, 136, &c. &c.

⁸ He always subscribes JEHAN, or JEHAN R.

⁹ O. Surrey to Wolsey, 8 Oct. 1523. Cal. B. VI, 315.

¹ She seems again to have married, after Alexander duke of Albany was slain, whence the French uterine brother of the regent.

² L'Art de Verifier les Dates, p. 726, 860. The learned Du Chat, in his notes on Rabelais, III, 65, observes that Albany had no children by his wife, "Anne

1515 great, and secured his allegiance to that country, while his connection with the house of Medici gave him great influence with the popes Leo X and Clement VII, sprung of that illustrious family.

When Albany assumed the regency, the most powerful peers in Scotland were Angus, Huntley, Arran, Home, Argyle, and Lennox. Angus was yet young and unexperienced; Huntley continued to be regarded as the chief leader in the north of Scotland, till his death in 1524; Arran, though possessed of large estates and vassalage, and strengthened by his connection with the royal blood, was a nobleman of mean talents; and Dacre considers Home in the same light, and undervalues his power³, though so much exalted by some of our historians; his unresisted fall shews that what influence he ever possessed rested chiefly in the favour of his late sovereign. Argyle and Lennox commonly acted in concert, and their extensive feudal authority in the west of Scotland gave them great weight. But cultivated talents, and application to state affairs, had elevated many churchmen to eminent stations in the government. The important office of chancellor was enjoyed by James Beton archbishop of Glasgow; that of treasurer, the third in the kingdom, was filled by Cuthbert commendator of

“Anne de la Tour, dicte de Boulogne, Contesse d’Auvergne, et de Lauragais; fille de Jean III Conte d’Auvergne, et de Jeanne de Bourbon. Il eut pour niepce, du coté maternel, Catherine de Medicis Reyne de France, fille de sa belle-sœur, Magdeleine de la Tour, duchesse d’Urbain.” Albany’s wife appears to have been sickly, and she died in 1524, leaving the county of Auvergne to Catherine de Medici, and it is now united to the crown of France. L’Art, 726. Her Husband survived her at least twelve years; but it appears not that he had a liferent of Auvergne.

The date of his father’s marriage, and death, have not been discovered.

John duke of Albany had a natural daughter Leonora, married to John de l’Hospital count of Choisy. Anderson’s Gen.

³ O. Clarenceux to Wolfey, 18 Feb. 1516, B. II, 298.

Glenluce:

Glenluce⁴: Gawin Dunbar archdeacon of St. Andrews was lord register: and the avaricious primate Forman had crowded so many benefices and advantages into his own possession, that Albany was soon after constrained to divide them, in order to appease the universal outcry⁵.

The parliament, which had assembled at Edinburgh, was contented with enacting a statute to maintain the antient freedom, privileges, and immunities of the Scottish church; and another, punishing the master or maintainer of a robber, in the same manner as the culprit, upon a refusal to yield him to law, an ordinance extorted by the preceding disorders⁶.

Haughty and severe measures marked the commencement of Albany's government; and he resolved to impress his enemies with terror, instead of winning them by conciliation, a method which his caprice was obliged afterwards to adopt, when it was too late, his preceding rigour having sown seeds of an enmity, too wide and deep ever to be eradicated. Had his frown been that of impartial justice, it would have been laudable, as necessary to awe an aristocracy, and nation, from long anarchy deaf to the mild voice of the law; but it was the queen, and the houses of Angus and Home, his personal enemies, not those of public order, against whom the thunder of his power was directed. Hardly was the rod of regency put into his hands before he committed the venerable lord Drummond, maternal grandfather of Angus, and constable of Stirling castle, a close prisoner to the fortress of Blackness; upon pretence that a year before Albany arrived he had struck the lyon herald on the breast, who brought to the queen a message from the lords connected with Albany⁷. Margaret

⁴ Crawf. Off. 369.

⁵ Less. 381.

⁶ Acts, f. 112.

⁷ O. Dacre to the Council, 1 Aug. 1515, B. II, 281. C. Margaret's Declaration 1516, B. VI, 105. Lesley, 376.

1515 } accuses the herald of insolence; and as the king was in her hands, and the herald's authority dubious, the zeal of Drummond might have been sufficiently punished by a reprimand. Nor had the abilities and disappointments of Gawin Douglas any weight with the regent, who accused him of soliciting the bishopric of Dunkeld, through the influence of the queen and Henry with the pope; and sent him to the durance of the sea-tower at St. Andrews⁸. In vain did the queen, to use her own words, present herself at Holyroodhouse before Albany, "fore weeping," and intreating mercy for her counsellors Drummond and Dunkeld: her tears and supplications met with cold neglect, and she returned to the castle of Edinburgh, in which she now resided, as being a part of her enfeoffment, amid solitude and consternation. For her other counsellors, excepting only Angus and Home the chamberlain, and even many of her servants, now withdrew in terror⁹. The royal children were yet with her; but an attempt was soon made to deprive her even of this maternal consolation.

The regent directed that the shires and towns should be ruled by the usual magistrates, as in the reign of James IV; yet the English influence was excited even to distract this salutary design, and Henry exulted in disturbing where he could not command¹. Hence the national tranquillity was little better established during the regency of Albany, than in his absence; and the general hope and wish were soon disappointed. The council of England had desired Dacre to procure, by the influence of Home or some other great lord, an embassy to be sent to England concerning a lasting peace; and at the same time to use every art in order to prolong the dissensions between Albany and Angus, and by inventions to raise jealousy

⁸ Dacre, B. II, 281.

⁹ C. Margaret's Declaration, 1516, B. VI, 105.

¹ Dacre to the Council, B. II, 281.

and suspicion between Albany and Home, so that the latter might be more and more firmly attached to Angus and the English interest². Dacre not only succeeded in these measures, but began to win other Scottish nobles disgusted with the regent's haughtiness, or neglect; and the baton of Albany, entwisted with thorns, was soon to torture his rash and unskillful hand. In vain did he feign amity to England, in vain did he stoop, on the return of the Unicorn herald, even to proclaim the peace himself, to continue as long as France and England should maintain their treaty; while the people smiled to see their governor appear in this new character, at the cross of Edinburgh, and by the voice of trumpets announce his own neglect of his dignity³.

Though certain lords had long before been appointed by the council of state, as already mentioned, to whose custody the king was committed, yet the royal children remained in the queen's care, to whom the lords guardians were subordinate, as no mandate had been issued by parliament to withdraw them from their mother, whose tender attentions formed the best security of their infant health and welfare; nor had the power of the queen and Angus been so enfeebled as to render such a mandate, if it had been given, of easy execution. It was not only a most important object in itself for Albany to get possession of the king and his brother, as the surest pledges of power, but the clandestine negotiation for conveying them to England, which certainly did not wholly escape the regent's ear, authorized the attempt; and had they even been sent to France, as it happened to the infant Mary in her subsequent reign, the long concord between that country and Scotland rendered such an event not illaudable; whereas between

² O. Dacre to the Council, 1 Aug. 1515, B. II, 281.

³ Ibid.

1515 } England and Scotland there had been continued enmity; and
 a treaty, a ransom, degrading conditions, must at least have
 been necessary for their restoration. Accordingly the regent
 induced the national council, still assembled at Edinburgh, to
 name eight lords⁴, from whom Albany, or lots, selected four;
 and from these four the queen was to chuse three, having, in
 other words, the power of rejecting any one whom she most
 disliked. These three peers were to have the custody of the
 king and his brother, wholly independent of the queen; and
 under no appointment nor controul, except of the parliament,
 or rather of Albany. The four peers proceeded from the
 parliament house to the castle of Edinburgh in due solemnity,
 amid a concourse of people assembled to behold this new and
 grand scene; a queen, a mother, surrendering her children to
 the representatives of the nation. On their approach the gates
 were thrown open; and the people beheld with sympathy and
 admiration the young and beautiful queen, standing at the
 entrance with the infant king by her side, his hand locked in
 hers; behind was the nurse with the other royal babe in her
 arms; around appeared Angus, and a few attendants. The
 shouts of acclamation having ceased, and the parliamentary
 delegates being near, Margaret, with infinite grace and majesty,
 exclaimed to them aloud, "Stand. Declare the cause of your
 coming." The peers, answering that they were sent by the
 parliament to demand their king and his brother, were struck
 with awe and confusion when the queen's command resounded,
 "Drop the portcullis!" This massy grate of iron being in-
 stantly let down, between Margaret and the astonished dele-
 gates, she thus addressed them: "This castle is part of my
 enfeoffment, and of it by my late husband the king was I made

⁴ This narrative is wholly derived from the long and interesting letter of
 Dacre, last quoted.

sole governess; nor to any mortal shall I yield the important ¹⁵¹⁵ command. But I respect the parliament, and nation; and request six days to consider their mandate; for of infinite consequence is my charge; and my counsellors now, alas! are few." She then withdrew; and the peers retired, penetrated with amazement, when they beheld such youth and beauty attended with such spirit and prudence.

As soon as this grand scene had passed, Angus, apprehensive lest, by disobeying an order of the regent in parliament, he might have forfeited his life and his lands, took notarial instruments, that he had desired that the children should be surrendered⁵. On the fifth day thereafter the queen signified her request, that the king and his brother might be left in her charge, on condition that she maintained them on her dowry; or, if this might not be granted, she desired that they might be committed to the custody of Angus, Home, the Earl Marshall, and Sir Robert Lawder of Bas⁶. As she justly expected that neither of these demands would win compliance, she had, in the mean time, withdrawn with her children from the castle of Edinburgh, a city in which she had no strong influence, to that of Stirling her usual residence, and a town which in course much favoured her cause. Albany secure of the support of the parliament, now by favours and French gold wholly at his devotion by a decided majority, while, as usual in Scottish parliaments, the minority did not attend, resolved at all events to accomplish this important design. He mustered all the men of Edinburgh, capable of arms, and desired them to be ready to follow him on the shortest notice: meantime he sent the lords Borthwick and Ruthven, with their followers, to remain in the town of Stirling, and prevent any victuals from passing

⁵ Ibid.⁶ Ibid.

1515 into the castle⁷. The dissolution of the parliament only increased his arbitrary proceedings against the queen's friends. Angus was now in the county whence his title was derived; and Archibald Douglas his uncle, who had wedded an opulent widow of Edinburgh, was at Douglas castle; but Sir George Douglas, brother of Angus, remaining at Edinburgh, Albany maliciously ordered Home, now provost of that city, to arrest him; which that peer refused, as not being decreed by parliament, and said that the office belonged rather to a herald than to him. Sir George however fled to the Merse: and Home, the same night, retired, attended only by one servant, to a house of his near the borders called Newark. The indecent spleen of the regent prompted him even to command Angus, on his allegiance, to march his bands to Stirling, to blockade his own wife; an order, as being impossible to obey, worthy of the most wanton despotism, not to add the extreme of cruelty, the queen being now far advanced in her pregnancy by this her second husband. At the same time a proclamation was fulminated, declaring all those who continued to retain the castle of Stirling against the regent and parliament, to be liable to the forfeiture of life and possessions. All these preparations were worthy of laughter, when it is considered that they were levelled against a solitary fortress, unfurnished with ammunition and provisions; and against a defenceless woman, only armed with her spirit, and her tears: but they excited the malignity of the English faction, who pretended to gather uncommon consequences from these uncommon means. Dacre even advises the English council of state to interfere, for if James and his brother fell into Albany's hands they would certainly be murdered; and he remarks a dubiousness in the late comprehen-

⁷ Ibid.

fion of peace, in which the Scottish king's name was omitted, ¹⁵¹⁵ so that, if Albany ascended the throne, it could not be violated by England without a war with France⁸.

At length every preparation being made, the regent, attended by most of the Scottish peers, in order that they might warrant the measure by their presence, and leading not less than seven thousand men, marched to Stirling⁹. The proclamation had ^{4 Aug.} deterred and dispersed the queen's few defenders; and the castle, instead of the din of arms, presented silence and solitude. Margaret smiled in disdain, when she beheld the army and artillery of Albany; and gave to her son, the king, the keys of the fortress, which the infant, at her nod, put into the hands of the regent. She then condescended to request Albany's favour to the king, and his brother, to herself, and to Angus; for herself and her sons the answer was beneficent; but the duke declared that, regarding Angus and his family as traitors, he could shew them no indulgence. The queen was then forced to return to the castle of Edinburgh, where she remained for a month, not without some appearance of captivity, being strictly watched by spies placed around her. The regent garrisoned the castle of Stirling with seven hundred men; and gave the king and his brother, with the fortress, in charge to the Earl Marshall, and the lords Fleming and Borthwick. About the same time Albany's servants pillaged Home's residence at Edinburgh; and the celebrated Patrick Panter the secretary was, on account of his attachment to that nobleman, arrested, and his goods despoiled; he was then committed prisoner to Inch Garvey, a small isle opposite to Queen's ferry, where he was confined in a tower built by James IV, towards

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ O. Dacre to the Council, 7 Aug. 1515, Cal. B. II, 301. O. "Wrongs done to the queen by Albany," March 1516, Cal. B. II, 173.

1515 the end of his reign, in order to protect his navy, and annoy any enemy¹.

Meanwhile Angus had retired into Tividale, to concert with Home what measures they should pursue. The regent resolved at once to terminate their schemes, and summoned a large array to meet him at Burrowmuir near Edinburgh before the end of August. Home, on his side, victualled Fastcastle; and Dacre availed himself of his neighbourhood, to instigate him more and more against Albany, but Angus he regarded as too young to be entrusted with a political conference². Albany 14 Aug. having returned to Edinburgh, made an attempt to gain the queen and Angus, by offering them articles, importing that they should unite with his measures in the government, and desire no aid from other realms especially from England, without the special leave of the regent, and the three estates; while he, on his side, engaged to help and defend them in all their just and equitable actions, causes, and quarrels, and particularly to put the queen in full possession of her enfeoffment, or jointure-lands, of which, in the disorders of the times, she had been in a great degree bereaved; a loss which reduced her to a poverty to be esteemed great, when her station, and former means, were considered. The queen rejected the articles; but sent them to Dacre to shew what she sacrificed³. The regent was afterwards so ungenerous as to constrain her to write letters to the pope, and the French king, favouring his sentiments⁴; but, upon Margaret's advice to Dacre, Villebresme was intercepted with the letters in England⁵. To Home no terms were offered, except that he should leave Scotland with-

¹ Ibid.

² Ibid.

³ C. proposed *indenture*, 14 Aug. 1515, Cal. B. VI, 83.

⁴ O. Queen's credence to Robert Car, sent to Dacre, Sept. 1515, ib. 85.

⁵ O. Dacre and Magnus to Henry, 7 Sept. 1515, ib. 80.

out any condition; and that nobleman stung with resentment and despair wrote to Dacre, requesting the assistance of an English force, informing him also that at no period was Scotland more open to the English power⁶. Dacre in course advised Henry to invade Scotland, in order to disconcert the French party; at the same time reproaching Albany with want of faith, in breaking his promise to Dacre, that the younger prince should be transmitted to Henry's care⁷. The same day Sir Anthony Ughtred, governor of Berwick, informs the archbishop of York, the ambitious Wolsey, that Fastcastle, the chief fortress of Home, and defended by his brother, had by the weakness of the latter fallen into Albany's hands, by means of a woman and three or four other persons: that the regent's brother, Alexander Stuart, had appeared in a military character at Coldingham, with a considerable force; while lord Fleming, with his bands, had just departed, after taking the castle of Home, and other places belonging to the regent's enemies⁸. But the chamberlain, a few days after, retook this castle by assault, and razed it to the ground: while William, his brother, captured the castle of Blacater, upon the river of that name, about five miles to the west of Berwick, the proprietor being well affected to Albany. Meanwhile the regent's army, to the amount of about forty thousand men, assembled at Burrowmuir; but to shew his pacific intentions towards England, he sent Sir William Scot, and Sir Robert Lawder, to meet Dacre and Dr. Magnus, a civilian of great talents, the English commissioners, in order to adjust any disputes on the marches. Home, on his side, now supported by letters

⁶ O. Home to Dacre, 24 Aug. 1515, B. II, 151. "Gyff ever your master wald tak his tym of Scotland, now or never."

⁷ O. Cal. B. II, 152.

⁸ O. Cal. B. II, 288.

1515 from Henry, gathered a great force; and threatened no less than the destruction, or banishment, of Albany⁹.

The queen, disgusted with her residence in the castle of Edinburgh, sent Robert Car with letters of credence to Dacre, in which she informs him that being constrained by Albany to write letters contrary to her sentiments, and being kept in a kind of captivity, while her friends were in prison and her revenues retained, so that she suffered extreme poverty, she was determined to escape from such persecution. That she wishes to flee to the castle of Blacater, which Dacre had recommended as the surest refuge, from its proximity to England, while at the same time she could not be said to have abdicated her rights by leaving Scotland: and that, to accomplish this flight without suspicion, or obstruction, she proposes to retire first to Linlithgow, a town included in her dower, whence, on the first or second night, she will depart with her husband, and four or five servants not in the secret. The chamberlain was to meet her within two or three miles of Linlithgow, with forty stout men, in order to convoy her to Blacater: if any obstacle occurred on her part, he was to burn some town of Albany's estates, and thus pretending an excursion, to depart till another night were appointed¹. Margaret being now within six weeks of the issue of her pregnancy², was resolved to continue no longer in the power of her enemies, and sent her ring to her brother, as a pledge of fixed resolution³. This scheme appears to have been executed; for, in the beginning of September, we find her at Blacater, where she remained a month before she fled to England. No sooner had she with-

⁹ O. William Franklin to the bishop of Durham, Norham 29 Aug. 1515, Cal. B. III, 133. The minute transactions of Scot and Lawder appear, B. VI, 87—92.

¹ O. Credence, B. VI, 85.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid.

drawn,

drawn, than Albany, sensible of the gross imprudence of his conduct to the sister of the English king, empowered Johan de Planis, an envoy lately arrived from France to Scotland, to offer her certain condescensions in his name; which were disdainfully rejected⁴. Upon which his partizans threatening to besiege the queen at Blacater, Dacre and Magnus wrote to request Henry's directions concerning the reception of her, and her husband, in England, if necessary; and in the mean time remitted to her a supply of one hundred marks, English money⁵. 1515
7 Sept.

The neglect of the French monarchs, Louis XII and Francis I, who, in contradiction of the terms of the alliance with Scotland, had concluded their pacifications with Henry, without the previous consent of the Scottish government, had irritated the Scots; who accepted the comprehension in the treaties with such neglect, and in so equivocal a manner, that it remained doubtful whether England and Scotland were in a state of peace or war. At the same time the recent alliance between France and Scotland being understood to expire upon the death of the contracting monarchs, if not ratified anew, Du Planis had arrived to accomplish this object, not without jealousy on the part of England, against which that alliance had been directed. It was therefore an eager wish of Henry that an embassy should be sent from Scotland, formally to conclude a peace, or at least a truce; and Albany, to prevent the obstruction of his designs, now amused Dacre with the hope of that embassy. But the English warden, knowing the regent's art, continued nevertheless to hold many conferences with Home, and to promise him Henry's effectual support⁶: nor in vain, for, though the queen warmly expostulates against

⁴ O. Cal. B. VI, 126.

⁵ O. B. VI, 80.

⁶ O. Dacre to Henry, 10 Sept. 1515, Cal. B. III, 20.

1515 } her brother's delay, that he was sincere appears from the order or permission given to Sir Christopher Dacre, to assist Home by making a strong inroad into Scotland⁷. Yet the distance of the English court, and its aversion to enter into declared war against Scotland, and thereby enforce its connexion with France, conspired with the great preparations and artifices of Albany, to leave the queen, Angus, and Home, open to every effort of his enmity.

12 Sept. The regent having collected a large host, accompanied with strong artillery, advanced towards the borders for the destruction of Home, and of the queen's friends⁸. The firm resistance expected from the chamberlain evaporated before the numerous array of Albany; whose toils and obstacles consisted only in the difficulties and delays of marching through a wide territory. Home, after lingering a few days in the vain expectation of succour, fled to England; a course which the queen and Angus were also constrained to pursue. Dacre received them with distinction: and Angus and Home solemnly swore not to treat with Albany, except with the knowledge of Henry⁹. The regent, after ravaging and securing the territories of the chamberlain, razing the tower of Blacater to the ground, and alarming Berwick, returned and dismissed his army¹.

about
8 Oct.

⁷ O. Dacre and Magnus to Henry, 18 Oct. 1515, B. VI, 110.

⁸ Dacre in a letter to Wolsey, 12 Sept. 1515, Cal. B. II, 238, informs him that Albany, with the main power of Scotland, and Arran his lieutenant, (apparently already lieutenant general of the kingdom,) had set up their tents at Home castle; that he, Dacre, had held a conference with Albany, when Huntley, Argyle, Arran, and others assured him that they had no intention to invade England, and were even ready to grant obligations to that effect. Dacre estimates the Scottish army at upwards of 80,000: a number hardly credible, were not Albany's caprice capable of any absurdity.

⁹ O. Dacre and Magnus to Henry, 18 Oct. B. VI, 110.

¹ Ibid.

Home,

Home, in revenge, made many incursions into Scotland; ¹⁵¹⁵ and Albany, exasperated at this contempt of his authority and the ineffectual issue of his expedition, resolved to employ every art to get that nobleman into his power. For this purpose he employed De Planis, the French ambassador, to write to Home, assuring him of an amnesty, provided he would cease to distress the country; and inclosing a pardon, formally signed by the regent, with some articles of importance, on which a conference was demanded. The chamberlain, unsuspecting of fraud, and having no reason to extol the support of England, consented to meet Albany at Dunglass castle. On their arrival Home observed some suspicious appearances, and warned his followers who fled to his brother in the marches; while he was himself seized, in contempt of good faith, and thrown into a vault, the door of which was secured with a chain. Next morning he was brought before the regent, who required him to exile himself to France or Italy for three years: a forced consent was given: and the chamberlain, till his embarkation could be arranged, was conveyed to Edinburgh, and committed to the keeping of Arran, who had married his sister^a.

A most unexpected scene now took place: Home not only contriving a speedy escape, but persuading his keeper to accompany him. By what arguments Arran was induced to this rash step is not to be discovered: perhaps he only wished to save his relation, and his own safety forbade him to remain behind: perhaps he hoped to acquire the regency by the assistance of England. Certain it is that Home, after giving notice to his two brothers, whom he had sent for as hostages, to flee to England, as he and Arran intended to escape from the castle of Edinburgh that night, effectuated his purpose with secrecy and security. The two peers, only attired

^a O. Dacre and Magnus to Henry, 18 Oct. B. VI, 110.

1515 in their doublets, travelled fourteen miles on foot, before they could procure horses; and, on the next morning, arrived at the marches, and informed Dacre of the event. The day after Angus joined them at Wooler: and they all swore to maintain the queen's party. Home's brothers had also arrived; and Lennox, apparently somewhat persuaded by Arran, was expected: but his accession appears not. It was now resolved to use every endeavour to annoy Scotland, and disturb Albany's government; a measure hardly necessary as Dacre represents that country as a prey to constant robberies, fires, slaughters, so that the regent was already disgusted with his ineffectual power³.

- 10 Oct. Margaret, upon her arrival in England, sent a letter to Albany informing him that apprehensions for her life had constrained her to quit Scotland; but that she persisted in her demand of the tutorage of her sons, and the regency of Scotland, agreeably to the will of James IV, confirmed by the pope, as the pontiff had himself signified to Albany⁴. To
13 Oct. this bold epistle the council of Scotland answer, that the government of the realm could not be bequeathed by the late monarch, as it expired with his death, "and was devolved thereby to the three estates;" which, with one voice, and by the queen's consent, had elected Albany; that her regency was moreover virtually lost by her second marriage; and that, as to the pontiff's interference, Scotland had, ever since its first inhabitation, been subject, in temporal matters, only to God⁵. The regent, on the same day, sent two letters to the queen; one formal, beseeching her to listen to reason, and declaring the lenity of his intentions, and his aversion to rigorous measures: the

³ Dacre and Magnus to Henry, 18 Oct. B. VI, 110.

⁴ C. Cal. B. VI, 119.

⁵ O. Council of Scotland, subscribed "Gude, scriba ejusdem," 13 Oct. 1515, B. VI, 120.

other,

other, wholly written with his own hand, offers Gawin Douglas a benefice of two or three thousand franks; to the queen the free donation of all benefices within her lands of dowry, and of all marriages and wards in a portion of these lands; lastly he promises to Margaret the guardianship of her sons, if she will engage not to withdraw them from the kingdom, or expose them to any harm⁶. The abbot of Dundrenan, the bearer, brought also a private credence⁷. But the queen's reply only insists on Gawin Douglas's complete admission to his bishopric; and, with regard to the custody of her children, she expresses her wonder that the duke's letter should so much differ from that of the council; and refers him to her brother to adjust the business⁸. The regent's offers were indeed too specious to be honest; and his guile and duplicity were already not a little known. In the mean time Angus, Home, and Arran, had, on the fifteenth of October, signed a bond, in which they engage to deliver the king and his brother from suspicious hands; to assist each other; and to make no agreement with Albany, except by the consent of all, and their kindred, friends and partizans: it is remarkable that of England no mention is made, though Dacre was apparently present on the occasion⁹.

Margaret, eight days after her arrival, was delivered at Harbottle of a daughter¹, lady Margaret Douglas, afterwards by intermarriage with the earl of Lennox, to be the mother of king Henry Darnley, and the grandmother of James VI. The queen's indisposition, increased by previous mortifications and anxieties, was of some duration; yet Albany sent James Hay to persuade her to return to Scotland, and Dacre em-

1515

17 Oct.

about
18 Oct.about
15 Nov.

⁶ Originals, Cal. B. VI, 122, 123.

⁷ Copy, B. VI, 123.

⁸ Copy, *ibid*.

⁹ C. B. VI, 124.

¹ O. Dacre and Magnus to Henry, 18 Oct. B. VI, 110.

1515 braced the opportunity to renew his application to the regent, for the transmission of the younger prince to England, which Hay informs Dacre had been favourably listened to, but apparently only in duplicity².

The regent meanwhile proceeded to revenge Arran's defection, by seizing his castles; but being met at that of Hamilton by the mother of the rebel earl, a venerable matron, the sacred relique of a former age, being a daughter of James II, he received her with much respect, and promised a free pardon, if her son would return to his duty³. Arran feeling the little dependence to be placed in Dacre's promises, accordingly came to Edinburgh, and resumed his allegiance to the regent⁴; this earl's character resembling, in weakness and irresolution, that of his son and successor, the first regent during Mary's minority. The accession of Arran contributed little to the tranquillity of the government, which Albany's rash hand was ill adapted to wield. Daily commotions continued: the earls of Moray and Errol had, even in the streets of Edinburgh, a conflict with Huntley, which the regent rushing from the palace with difficulty appeased⁵: the lion-king-at-arms, the chief of the Scottish heralds, was seized by Home on the borders, and imprisoned till Albany should release Home's mother, whom his mean revenge had imprisoned at Dunbar castle for six weeks, only because she had shewn attention to the queen⁶. The aversion to Albany's regency was further increased by the sudden death

² O. Dacre to Wolsey, 19 Nov. 1515, Cal. B. II, 302. O. James Hay to Dacre, 21 Oct. B. II, 303.

³ Less. 378, 379. ⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Ibid. 379. Our author says that the earl of Moray was with Errol; but that peer, then extremely young, did not arrive in Scotland from his travels till 1519. O. Dacre to Wolsey, 19 Oct. 1519, Cal. B. III, 16. Perhaps Lessley errs many years, as not unusual with our historians.

⁶ Ibid. O. "Wrongs done to the queen by Albany," B. II, 173.

of the infant duke of Ross, the king's only brother, a child ¹⁵¹⁵ of remarkable beauty and vivacity, who now resigned his breath at Stirling castle⁷: the period was suspicious, as a proposal ^{18 Dec.} was in agitation for sending this prince to England⁸; nor did the English faction, nor the queen herself, hesitate to impute infant blood to Albany; and Gawin Douglas, in his remarkable memorial of January 1522⁹, among other severe charges against Albany, afterwards to be related, uses the following terms, "and worst of all, alas! it is openly spoken, and repeated, that the duke of Ross, the king's brother, died from the want of things necessary for such a prince, or else was poisoned." Yet candor will not listen to an enemy, on a charge of such atrocity; and will barely admit that the absence of a mother's care may have caused the infant to pine away, or occasioned a culpable neglect in the attendants.

This eventful year was concluded by a renovation of the alliance with France, on the same terms with that ratified by James IV¹. But a pacification with England could not be procured from the present dispositions of Scotland, which regarded her inclusion in the French treaty as rather formal than essential. The conquests of Francis I in Italy had also excited the jealousy of Henry: and the peace between England and France stood in a most uncertain predicament. The policy of Henry eagerly desired a lasting peace with Scotland, that he might not only be at liberty to direct his ambitious arms to the continent, but that he might at the same time have an

⁷ Lell. 379. The queen in her "Wrongs," dated March [1516], positively charges Albany with the death of this royal infant.

⁸ O. Dacre to Wolsey, 19 Nov. B. II, 302.

⁹ Cal. B. III, 309.

¹ This appears to have been the chief object of the embassy of De Planis. See Epist. R. S. I, 256. The treaty was ratified by Albany, 2 Jan. 1516. Leagues F. and S. ms. Harl. 1244.

1515 } open field to secure the internal arrangement of Scotland, by intrigues, which war would only have obstructed: the French faction, on the contrary, desired short and ambiguous truces, that if Henry should declare against France the usual Scottish aid might be interposed.

1516 } Yet at a meeting of the Scottish commissioners, Gawin Dun-
Jan. bar archdeacon of St. Andrews, and Sir William Scott, accompanied by De Planis the French ambassador, and of Dacre and Magnus on the part of England, held at Coldingham, it was agreed that the truce should continue, notwithstanding some border infractions; and that the regent should send a solemn embassy to England, an object long and warmly insisted

27 Jan. on by Henry². In consequence Albany desired the English king to remit a safe conduct for the bishops of Galloway, Dumblane, and Caithness, and the earls of Morton, Eglinton, and Cassils, the destined ambassadors³. This safe conduct was cheerfully granted⁴: but the embassy did not proceed till the month of April⁵.

Albany's inauspicious regency continued to suffer constant distraction. Arran, who still aspired to the government, again revolted, and being joined by Lennox and Glencairn, they provided Dunbarton castle against a siege, and captured that of Glasgow, which was well stored with ammunition: but, by the mediation of the chancellor, the affair was compromised⁶. The regent, in order to attach the nobles, the French

² The instrument does not appear in Rymer, but the meeting is mentioned by Lesley, 379, and alluded to in Rymer, XIII, 566, and in Albany's letter.

³ O. Albany, in the name of James, to Henry, 27 Jan. 1516. Cal. B. VI, 102.

⁴ Rymer, XIII, 531. Dr. Granger, followed blindly by Guthrie as usual, speaks of Sir David Lindsay as one of the ambassadors; but the original bears David Lyndsay of Byres, a far superior designation to that of the poet, who is always styled of the Mont, a small estate in Fife.

⁵ O. Dacre to Henry, 12 April 1516, B. III, 31.

⁶ Lesl. 380.

supplies

supplies now failing, forced Forman to abandon some of his ¹⁵¹⁶ multitudinous benefices, and conferred them on friends of Arran, Huntley, Bothwell, with a pension to Moray⁷. Lord Drummond, the bishop of Dunkeld, and Panter, were set at liberty⁸; and Albany having found by experience that a severity bordering on tyranny was little adapted to the country, and times, suddenly passed, as is usual with the unskilful, from one extreme to another. His necessity, or insatiate avarice and profuse dissipation, had not only seized the queen's jewels and jointure, but had despoiled the royal palaces, and sold offices of emolument and trust⁹; yet the slender attachment of the nobles, which subsisted chiefly by their sharing the spoils, was most precarious; and Albany, far from aspiring to the sceptre, deeply repented that he had impressed a footstep on the Scottish soil. His measures were completely foiled; and henceforward his struggle against Henry's influence was weak, fruitless, and ineffectual.

Angus and Home, finding themselves neglected by the English king, and deprived by the conclusion of a treaty of any open aid from England, resolved, without the queen's know-

⁷ Less. 381. But it is suspected that this donation rather took place in the parliament of November this year.

⁸ Ibid. 382. Yet not till after 15 March 1516, as appears from O. Dacre and Magnus to Henry, Cal. B. VI, 99, whence it is also to be learned that Albany then offered their freedom, on condition that Margaret should not proceed further into England to meet her brother. In Cal. B. VI, 97, there is a letter from Alexander Turnbull to Angus, Rome 4 Nov. 1515, mentioning that a brief had been procured from the pope for the liberation of Dunkeld; but as the queen and Angus were in England, it was doubtful to whose charge it should be sent.

Lord Drummond was not delivered from his forfeiture till the 22d of Nov. 1516. Scott. Cal.

⁹ Memorial by Dunkeld, Jan. 1522. Cal. B. III, 309.

1516 ledge, to accommodate their affairs with Albany; who now
 { affected great lenity, and assented to admit them to their former honours and possessions. They accordingly returned to Scotland, and resided in a quiet manner on their estates'. The queen, now confined by a long illness at Morpeth, never pardoned, and never could pardon, this shocking and disgraceful defection of her husband, the inhumanity of which was, if possible, increased by her situation on a bed of sickness at the time; and this was the real cause of that lasting enmity which our historians, ignorant of this circumstance, impute to an amour of Angus. Margaret's determination of proceeding to her brother's court, instead of returning to Scotland, was a strong motive to this step; as Angus and Home regarded her resolution as a dereliction of any claim to the Scottish government, and, in mere prudence, could not be much blamed for not sacrificing all their fortunes to a cause confessed to be
 beg. Apr. desperate. The queen afterwards went to the English court²; where she was received with the distinction, respect, and tenderness, due to her talents, her station, and her misfortunes: nor was it an usual spectacle to behold her, and her sister Mary the widow of Louis XII, embracing each other, after an equal fatality.

The Scottish ambassadors, with De Planis the French envoy, proceeded to London; where, after long deliberation, a truce
 1 June was concluded, to last till midsummer one thousand five hundred and seventeen³. Yet Henry, not satisfied with attaining

¹ O. Dacre to Henry, 12 April 1516, B. III, 31.

² Ibid. See Lodge's Illustrations of British History, I, 20: she proceeded from York to Newbury about the 24th May, ib. 22.

³ Rymer, XII, 549, and see 574. Epist. R. S. I, 261. The commencement was computed from St. Andrew's day 1516, to which time the former truce extended. Redpath, 502, misunderstands the passages: but to observe the numerous errors of former writers in these notes would be infinite.

this

this purpose, and knowing that France would find sufficient exercise for her arms in Italy against the emperor Maximilian, determined with a high hand to eject Albany from his regency. Sounding the Scottish ambassadors to this effect, who represented their want of power to negotiate on the subject, the impatient monarch, on the day on which the truce was signed, directed a letter, to be presented to the three estates of Scotland; insisting upon the dismissal of Albany, who, from his propinquity of blood, and next claim to the crown, was the most suspicious guardian that could have been appointed to the infant James⁴. The estates having met in parliament, this mandate was presented; and, as was to have been expected, excited the resentment even of those who wished well to the English interest. In their answer, to which among numerous names and seals, we find those of Home, Lennox, and Drummond, the estates firmly represent that they had nominated Albany to his office, and would support him; and that their king was in no danger, having long since, by their order, been placed in the hands of chosen peers⁵. Yet Albany, conscious of the insecure foundation on which his regency stood, now entered into a secret negotiation with Wolsey; and agreed that the infant king should be regarded as solely under the safeguard of the three estates, that he would consent to a perpetual peace, and would visit the English court himself, to confer with Henry⁶. The parliament, ignorant of this duplicity, was apparently unanimous in support of the regent; but this unanimity was more owing to the nature and constitution of a Scottish parliament, in which, as is evinced from all our re-

⁴ Rymer, XIII, 550, from the answer of the Scottish parliament.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Ib. 574, where Henry's confirmation of the articles agreed on by Albany and Wolsey 24 July, is given, and dated 31 Dec. 1516.

1516 cords, an opposition to the government was unknown, and might perhaps have been construed rebellion, than to any real attachment to Albany. What would have been their sentiments, had they known that the regent had also secretly assented to leave Scotland, and to pass by the English court in his route to France?⁷ Meanwhile he had sent La Fayette to the French king⁸, to notify the necessity of his affairs; and to request aid in support of his regency, to which he had been delegated as it were by Francis; or if this were impossible, to obtain a permission to return to France, to which his wife and opulent estates firmly attached him. At the same time Henry dispatched Thomas Benolt the Clarenceux herald, a man of ability, and who frequently afterwards appeared in Scotland as the agent of England⁹, to remain as a spy on Albany's conduct;

⁷ C. Instructions to Clarenceux going to Scotland, [August, 1516,] Cal. B. VI, 188. O. Clarenceux in Scotland to Wolfsey, 9 Aug. 1516. Cal. B. II, 290.

⁸ Letter of Clarenceux just quoted: and another, Falkland, 29 Aug. B. III, 260.

⁹ Thomas Benolt was appointed Clarenceux, Nov. 20th. 2 H. VIII, 1510, having previously been Rouge Croix pursuivant, Lancaster herald, and Norroy king of arms. His will is dated 24 April 1534, and proved 16th May. He was buried in St. Helen's church Bishopsgate-street, where it is believed his monument remains, with a legible inscription. In the books of partition of fees, Heralds College London, amid the division of 10*l.* among the officers at arms, for attendance at court on St. George's day 1534, are the following entries.

"Mr. Clarenceux, Thomas Benolt, absent, seke; and dyed the 8th daie of Maie next ensuinge, on whose soule God have mercie."

"Mr. Clarenceux, Thomas Tonge, created at Gyldeforde in the Fryers church, the seconde daie of Auguste, 1534."

In 1537 Tonge was succeeded by Thomas Hawley: William Harvey followed in 1557: Robert Cooke in 1566: and Richard Lee in 1593. On whose death in 1597, Camden, who had been for that purpose appointed a herald just before, to the great dissatisfaction of the college was promoted to the rank of Clarenceux.

conduct; but on pretext, it appears, of awaiting the consent ¹⁵¹⁶ of France to the truce, before he presented Henry's ratification. Yet Dacre intermitted not every endeavour to disturb Albany's government; and he even boasts in a letter to Wol- ^{23 Aug.} fey, that he had no less than four hundred Scots in his pay, whose only employment was to excite tumults, to burn, and to destroy¹. The party of Home and Angus still maintained their union, and contributed not a little to distract the country².

The parliament, which had been prorogued to the second of September, was postponed till the fifteenth, as De la Fayette's arrival was unexpectedly dilatory³; but on the latter ^{Sept.} day it apparently met⁴, as Home, by all accounts, was soon after tried in the national council. That nobleman, instead of continuing on his own domains, as he had already been taught to distrust the regent's guile, was so imprudent as, upon some unknown specious suggestion, to visit the court, with his brother William, and Sir Andrew Ker of Fernihurst. They were immediately seized, and lodged in different prisons; and being tried in parliament were found guilty. The new crimes alledged against Home are unknown⁵; and, if he had not been

For this minute and authentic information the author is indebted to his ingenious friend Edmund Lodge, Esq. Lancaster Herald, and editor of that interesting work, "Illustrations of British History."

It may be added that Benolt was Berwick pursuivant, temp. E. IV: that he wrote a visitation of Kent: and was sent by H. VIII to defy Francis I, and afterwards Charles V, which he did with great grace and spirit. Weever Fun. Mon. 679, 335, 672.

¹ O. Dacre to Wolsey, 23 Aug. Cal. B. I, 150.

² O. Clarenceux to Henry, 29 Aug. B. III, 260.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Buchanan, XIV, 7, says it met 24 Sept.

⁵ Redpath, 505, enumerates the *supposed* charges. The chief are, 1. Home's assassination of James IV after the battle of Flodden; 2. Some gross unknown crime,

1516 been pardoned for former transgressions, he could not have sitten in the parliament of July ⁶. But as Dacre, by his own confession, was daily ravaging Scotland by hired bands, probably of Home's followers; and the chamberlain's connexion with Dacre was known; it was not unreasonable to impute those shocking disorders to Home's connivance, if not instigation: and the regent cannot be highly blamed for making this great example of a nobleman, who had thus abused his mercy, in order to deter others from a crime destructive of all government and property. In consequence of their sentences, Home was beheaded on the eighth of October ⁷, and his head placed on the tolbooth of Edinburgh, and his brother met with the same fate on the following day. Soon after the parliament was again prorogued till the beginning of November; the French court then at Lyon ⁸, and occupied with many important affairs, and perplexed with difficulties, not being yet able to decide on the part to be taken with regard to Scotland: in the mean time Albany marched to Jedburgh with a chosen band of foldiers, in order to repress the disorders on the marches ⁹.

crime, (perhaps the same,) imputed by Albany to Home, and over which it was necessary to draw a veil. The first is from Buchanan, who, to confirm his fable, adds that Moray the natural son of James IV, appeared in evidence; but that peer was only aged twenty in 1519. O. Dacre to Wolsey, B. III, 16, and was apparently now on his travels, for after a long absence he returned to Scotland in 1519, *ib.* Perhaps James Hepburn, *bishop of Moray*, may be meant. The second charge is from Drummond, and is improbable in itself, as Albany lately arrived in Scotland, could only know what was known to others, and as regent could hardly be admitted as an accuser.

⁶ On the 9th June, 1516, Albany gave Dunghlas castle to Home. *Scotst. Cal.*

⁷ *Less.* 383. Buchanan, XIV, 7, says the 11th of October, and is followed by Crawford, *Officers*, 324.

⁸ *Epist. Reg. Scot.* I, 244. ⁹ *Less.* 383.

At length Francis de Bordeaux arrived as embassador from France; and the parliament again met. His instructions having previously been shewn to the regent and privy council, some articles were now extracted and laid before the three estates; who were surprized to find almost every demand, which they had desired their embassador the bishop of Ross to make, completely rejected. Francis I, their great and good ally, refused to yield the county of Xaintonge, which had been assigned by Charles VII to James I, in November 1428, as before mentioned, on pretext that it was an inalienable portion of the royal domain; he refused any aid to Scotland, and advised peace with England on any terms; he refused even to ratify the alliance between France and Scotland, renewed and sworn by De Planis, and the Scottish council of regency, within a year and a day after the death of James IV¹. At the same time it appears that La Fayette, the messenger of Albany, arrived with private advice to him to leave Scotland, as the present politics of France prevented his being supported in that country. The regent's affairs being now desperate, he resolved to avail himself of his present remnant of power, and prevailed on the parliament to set aside his elder brother Alexander Stuart, and to declare himself the second person in the kingdom, and undoubted heir to the throne in case of the death of his nephew². Nor could his ambition probably have ever

¹ Epist. R. S. I, 243—248; and the answer of the Scottish parliament, *ibid.* 249—257.

² Lessl. 383. From Scotstarvet's Calendars of Charters it appears that, on the 13th Nov. 1516, a ratification passed in parliament of a divorce pronounced by the Official of Lothian, between the deceased Alexander duke of Albany, and dame Catherine Sinclair daughter of the earl of *Caithness*, (the latter designation of her father, formerly Orkney,) because of consanguinity: and declaring the regent only lawful son of the late Albany by Agnes of Boulogne, in course

1516 ever aspired further; for, without the aid of France, he could not have ascended the Scottish throne; and the generous nature of Francis I would have abhorred such an enterprize.

Some days having elapsed after this important object had been adjusted, the regent in a full parliament, at that time held in the tolbooth or guildhall of Edinburgh, arose, and, with a countenance betraying an agony of perplexity and confusion, requested the permission of the three estates to visit France; solely, as he pretended, with an intention to consult the French king, and to console his own wife now in a bad state of health². Great clamours followed this unexpected demand; and it was at first declared in their resentment that if he must sail to France, whatever might be the pretext, or real cause, he should never again be admitted into Scotland; and that if he went the estates would abandon the French alliance, from which only fatal or disgraceful consequences flowed, and would form a conjunction with England, which would not only deliver them from constant anxiety and apprehension, but would redound to the eternal profit of the realm: they concluded with requiring him to maintain his high station till the king should have attained the age of eighteen, agreeably to their determination of the preceding year. But Albany assuring them that England would yet further prolong the truce, if he were permitted to depart; and displaying a prodigality of promises; the states relented, and gave a reluctant permission³.

second person in the kingdom, and capable of succeeding to the crown; from which claim Alexander commendator of Inchaffray the son of the former marriage, is formally set aside.

² To acute observers the absence of Albany's wife might have always declared, that he did not intend a fixed residence in Scotland.

³ These particulars are derived from an important letter of Benolt, the Clarenceux, to Wolsey, dated, on his return, at Alnwick 30 Nov. 1516, Cal. B. VI, 138.

The

The period assigned by Albany for his departure was probably the approaching spring, as navigation was then very unusual in winter. He accordingly remained in Scotland till June, in a tantalizing and unhappy situation. Though he had promised to Wolsey that he would pass by the English court, he now began to frame excuses, sensible that the step could procure him no advantage, but would excite the jealousy both of the Scots and French: he alledged that the estates would not consent, and insisted upon great hostages to be transmitted to France, and to Scotland⁴. To Clarenceux however he swore, by the reliques contained in a tablet hanging from his neck, that he earnestly desired to visit England and Henry; and added the imprecation that, if he spoke not truth, he abjured his part of paradise, and devoted his soul and body to the infernal dæmons. To his familiar friends his disappointment and anguish whispered his earnest wish, that, to use his own impetuous language, he had broken both his legs and arms, the first footstep he moved on his journey to proceed to Scotland⁵. Amid the regent's perplexities and disgusts Clarenceux returned to England for fresh instructions; and, now that the intentions of France were found to be pacific, to obtain Henry's solemn ratification of the treaty with Scotland, which had for six months been artfully delayed.

The earl of Lennox was now imprisoned till he should surrender the castle of Dunbarton, as a key of the kingdom to Albany; and, upon the earl's compliance, Allan Stuart was sent to receive the fortress⁶. The appointment of D'Arcy

⁴ Ibid. Even in conversation with Clarenceux Albany styled the king of France his master, B. III, 260. The herald had been instructed to offer the earl of Northumberland as an hostage in Scotland, or *Surrey* the Admiral at Boulogne. B. VI, 188.

⁵ O. Clarenceux to Wolsey, 30 Nov. 1516. B. VI, 138. ⁶ Lest. 384.

1516 de la Bastie, though a deserving favourite, to the wardenship of the marches, vacant upon Home's death, rather irritated a nation little accustomed to behold foreigners in such important offices⁶.

1517 Jan. Clarenceux having returned with the proper ratifications, and with fresh instructions from Wolsey and Dacre, the parliament again met, and sanctioned the truce⁷, now extended to the thirtieth of November this year, in consequence of Albany's confirmation of his articles entered into with Wolsey in the preceding July, and of his projected departure in compliance with the wishes of England. Yet it appears that the English herald still delayed to present the proper ratification of the truce, as being instructed to use every precaution against the regent's art and duplicity. To strengthen his influence Albany now conferred the office of chamberlain, the second in the kingdom, upon lord Fleming⁸; a peer warmly attached to him, but of a profligate and sanguinary character⁹. Though the chief secret article, upon which England had consented to prolong the truce of July, was that Albany should quit Scotland, his anxiety was great lest this degrading article should be known to the parliament and nation¹: but the queen's return to Scotland was openly mentioned, and assented to, though some of her terms were reserved for the consideration of the next parliament². The regent dispatched De la Fayette, his envoy, to the English court, with instructions to request of Wolsey that, in publishing the truce, no mention should be made of the secret article concerning his departure, but that he should be invited in gentle terms to visit England³.

⁶ Ibid. ⁷ Rymer, XIII, 581. ⁸ Lessl. 384. Crawf. Off. 325.

⁹ O. Margaret to Surrey, 24 Nov. 1523. B. I, 279.

¹ O. Clarenceux to Dacre, 7 Jan. 1517, B. VI, 184. ² Ibid.

³ Credence from Albany to La Fayette, sent to Wolsey, B. VI, 136.

but

Clarenceux, who accompanied the envoy, was taught to ¹⁵¹⁷ believe that La Fayette was ordered to pass from England to France, whence he was to bring twelve gentlemen to accompany Albany with due splendor in his journey through England; an intention which he repeated with many oaths and imprecations⁴. Yet about this time he sent a letter to the Danish king, accusing Henry of delay in the ratification, and requesting information if Denmark could assist Scotland, her ally, with some forces by the month of June⁵: this measure he seems to have adopted as the last resource to support his regency, France having refused her concurrence. He at the same time wrote to Henry and Wolfey, requiring that the original deed of truce should be sent ratified, a cause, or a pretext, of further delay. As a mode perhaps of banishment, during transactions mortifying to the regent, if inspected by skilful eyes, Gawin Douglas now acknowledged bishop of Dunkeld, and Patrick Panter secretary to the king, were sent on an embassy to France in order to assist the bishop of Ross, the former ambassador there, in adjusting a lasting alliance⁶. To cover the disgrace of his retreat, and to maintain some shadow of power abroad, Albany obtained from the three ^{March} estates, now apparently again assembled, letters of credence authorizing him, as established regent, to transact the ecclesiastic affairs of Scotland with the pope, and the temporal with the French monarch, the emperor, and the catholic king; and particularly the renewal of the treaty with France, in

⁴ O. Clarenceux to Dacre, B. VI, 184.

⁵ Epist. R. S. I, 259.

⁶ Lell. 385, but he errs in mentioning Glencairn as one of the ambassadors, that nobleman having been declared a rebel by Albany, Cal. B. VI, 188: and a letter of the ambassadors, ib. 174, is only signed by Dunkeld, Ross, and Panter.

which

1517 which view he was even empowered to conduct the marriage of the infant monarch with a suitable bride of that kingdom⁷.

6 April A formal safe conduct having at length been issued by the regent and parliament, for the reception of Margaret in Scotland, with a full power to her to levy all her former revenues, arising from her endowed territories, and to resume possession of all her jewels and other effects, provided that she attempted nothing against Albany's authority⁸, that princess prepared for her departure from England; which was however delayed, till Albany, whom the states, probably at his own suggestion, forbade to visit Henry⁹, should have sailed for France. Among the secret articles it appears to have been stipulated that Albany's nominal power should remain; that a council of regency blended of both parties should be chosen; and that neither France nor England should interfere in the government or internal affairs of Scotland. Accordingly for four years, till the second arrival of Albany, few traces are to be found of any French or English influence having been used; though the two intestine parties of Albany, and the queen, retained their dissensions. The council of regency, which was

May unexpectedly to hold its power for four years, consisted of the archbishops of St. Andrew's and Glasgow, dignities at that time supported by Andrew Forman and James Beton, the latter also chancellor, and from that office chief of the council;

⁷ Epist. R. S. I, 257. It is remarkable that Albany is styled "his majesty," *majestati suæ*, p. 258, a form unknown even to the kings of England till about 1530; "your grace" being the common phrase in all the original letters till that time.

⁸ Epist. R. S. I, 265: and Cal. B. VI, 107.

⁹ C. Instructions Albany to some envoy to England, B. III, 139. The regent even pretends that he took a notarial instrument of the refusal of the states.

and

and the earls of Huntley, Argyle, Angus, and Arran¹, of ¹⁵¹⁷ whom there is reason to believe that three were devoted to the queen and the English interest. The king was brought from the castle of Stirling to that of Edinburgh, and committed to the care of the earl Marshall, the lords Erskine, Borthwick, and Ruthven; and the constant attendance of at least two of them was enjoined². Albany, who may be regarded as a Frenchman by birth, allegiance, and inclinations, left to De la Bastie, the warden of the marches, a kind of confidence and delegation which occasioned his being regarded as a deputy³, and was the cause of great envy, and a rapid fate: at the same time the fortresses of Dunbar and Dunbarton, the eastern and western keys of the kingdom, and the tower of Inchgarvy, useful in protecting a navy, were garrisoned with French soldiers, at a quadruple expence to the state⁴. Yet, with these inconveniences, the superior tranquillity of a few succeeding years was to proclaim the advantages which Scotland derived from the absence of the regent.

Having given out that he would return in five months; and having not only taken security for the fidelity of the peers, but procured many of their heirs to be sent with him as hostages⁵; Albany at length sailed from Dunbarton on the eighth⁶, and 8 June arrived at Montmichel in France about the twenty seventh of June⁷.

¹ Lesley, 385, confirmed in all the names by O. Magnus to Wolfsey, 16 June 1517, B. II, 212.

² Lesl. 385.

³ Dunkeld, in his memorial of Jan. 1522, formally styles De la Bastie the "Depute" of Albany, B. III, 309. Lindsay, 199, even calls him Regent. Lesley, 385, is more accurate.

⁴ Dunkeld's memorial, ib.

⁵ O. Magnus to Wolfsey, 16 June 1517. B. II, 212.

⁶ Ibid. Lesley 385, says the 7th.

⁷ O. Dunkeld, Ross, and Panter, to Wolfsey, Abbeville 27th June 1517. B. VI, 174. O. Albany to Wolfsey, Montmichel 28 June, ib. 175.

1517 The queen yet hesitated in the north of England; and even
 { shewed some disinclination to exchange the opulence of that
 country for the penury of Scotland⁸; though she feared not
 the Scottish peers, awed by her brother's power, she desired
 from them an assurance that they would not demand from her
 a sum of eighteen thousand crowns, which the affection of
 James IV had given her, before he went to the campaign of
 15 June his death, without the knowledge of his privy council⁹. Any
 difficulties being readily adjusted, Margaret entered Scotland
 a week after Albany had failed; and was met at Lamberton
 kirk, a spot which must have excited a sigh, when she reflected
 that this was the scene of her first reception as the bride of
 James IV, by the earls of Angus, Morton, and other peers,
 and by De la Bastie¹. Yet she was not permitted to visit her
 son, except for the short space that he was withdrawn to
 Craigmillar, a pestilence having appeared at Edinburgh².
 Though her affections were estranged from Angus her husband,
 yet her prudence stifled her resentment; and she even endea-
 voured to procure him the regency, without success, for she
 was probably a stranger to the secret articles between Henry
 and Albany. The bishop of Dunkeld now arrived from France
 July by the way of England³, and added his knowledge and abili-
 ties to a warm zeal for her party. But Margaret was the slave
 of her own will; and paying little attention to her brother's
 advice, she was in return not eagerly supported by his influ-
 ence.

⁸ O. Magnus to Wolsey, B. II, 212. Before, says Magnus, she had "esteemed Scotland egall with England." She was very young when she wedded James IV.

⁹ O. Margaret to Henry, York 3 June 1517. B. II, 230.

¹ O. Magnus to Wolsey, B. II, 212.

² Less. 385.

³ He, Ross, and Panter, apply to Wolsey for a safe conduct by the above quoted letter of 27th June.

Upon

Upon his return to France, Albany spared no endeavour to complete the design of the embassadors, the bishops of Ross and Dunkeld, and secretary Panter, in establishing a lasting alliance between Scotland and that country: nor was his intercession unsuccessful, for the memorable treaty of Rouen, the basis of the subsequent connections between those kingdoms, was now adjusted by the regent, as empowered by the Scottish parliament on the one part, and the duke of Alençon, brother-in-law of Francis, on the other⁴. It is agreed that, when England shall make war on either power, France is to pay to Scotland one hundred thousand crowns of the sun; and to furnish fifteen hundred lansquenets, five hundred infantry, and two hundred archers, the expence of which force, when landed in Scotland, is to be defrayed by the Scots. If either be invaded, the other is to attack England⁵. If France be assailed, Scotland is to send six thousand troops. Either may accept a truce, on leaving to the other, the privilege of acceding at its free option. A marriage is to take place between James and a daughter of Francis, when both are of age: and Albany engages to procure the ratification of this treaty by the Scottish parliament, within two months after his return to Scotland.

But the regent's power in that kingdom met with an unexpected check, for Sir Antony D'Arcy de la Bastie, called his deputy, a knight of eminent talents and fame, often commemorated in this and the preceding book, was now to encounter a cruel fate. He had distinguished himself by repressing disorders

⁴ MS. Leagues F. and S. Harl. 1244. Among Albany's titles are Conte de Gareoch, Boulogne et Auvergne; Seigneur de la Tour, Douzennas, Baussac, Cauraise, &c.

⁵ But France is only to invade the English possessions, "deça la mer;" that is to reconquer for herself Calais, or Tournay. Gallica Fides!

1517 within the bounds of Lothian and the Merse, over which countries his command of the castle of Dunbar conspired with his office of warden to give him great authority: and his severe justice in imprisoning Stirling of Keir, for an attempt to assassinate Meldrum of Bins near Edinburgh, is celebrated by a contemporary writer⁶. His office of warden was singularly invidious to the Homes, accustomed to see the head of their house in that important station, and irritated by the execution of lord Home in the preceding year. Home of Wedderburn, a chief of the family, resolved to revenge the offences of Albany on his reputed delegate; and despairing of open force laid an ambuscade to surprize the warden, then on a progress of justice near Langton. De la Bastie, trusting to the speed of his horse, fled towards Dunbar castle, but was entangled in a marsh, and slain. Home, in the triumph of barbaric revenge, fastened the head of his victim by its long and adorned hair to his saddle-bow; and regained his mansion, breathing contempt against the regency and the laws⁷.

19 Sept.

The lords of the council learning this atrocious event appointed Arran warden of the marches⁸, to the great offence of Angus, which was increased by Arran's imprisoning Sir George Douglas that peer's brother, and Mark Ker, because they were suspected of favouring the design against De la Bastie⁹. The punishment of the perpetrators was deferred till a parliament should meet early in the ensuing year¹.

⁶ Sir David Lindsay Hist. of Squire Meldrum, Scottish Poems reprinted from scarce editions, London 1792, 3 vols. 8vo, Vol. I, p. 197, 198.

⁷ Lessl. 387. Buch. XIV, 10. Lindsay, 201. Dacre in a letter to Margaret, [Sept. 1517,] imputes this affair to a sudden passion of Wedderburn.

⁸ Lessl. 388. But Arran appears to have been lieutenant general of the kingdom: and Lennox his relation warden, for in a letter of Albany of uncertain date the latter is styled warden. B. VI, 150.

⁹ Lessl. ib.

¹ Ibid.

Albany had been so disgusted with his regency that he now ¹⁵¹⁷ wrote to Margaret, desiring her to assume the government if the peers assented, the five months assigned by him for his return being nearly expired. The queen accordingly informed Dacre of his intentions; and requested that Angus her husband might be supported in his claim of the regency². Dacre advised her to sound the lords without whose assent the aid of England would be vain³: but she found them all united with Arran in opposition to Angus, whose youth and levity they despised, while they dreaded his power. The recent prolongation of the truce with England, from St. Andrew's day this year to the same term in the year fifteen hundred and nineteen⁴, also opposed the open introduction of English influence or force.

A parliament having assembled at Edinburgh, the forfeiture ¹⁵¹⁸ against those concerned in the assassination of De la Bastie ^{19 Feb.} formed the chief object of deliberation; and David Home of Wedderburn, his three brothers, and other perpetrators of that deed, were condemned. Arran with some bands of soldiers, and a few artillery, proceeded to enforce the sentence; the Homes intimidated yielded their fortresses, and appear to have

² O. Margaret to Dacre, St. Matthew's eve, 20 Sept. 1517, Cal. B. I, 239, and Oct. 1517, ib. 247.

³ C. Dacre to Margaret, Oct. 1517, B. I, 243. He at the same time expresses his wonder that she should write for the return of George Home, (afterwards lord Home,) and the prior of Coldingham, who had retired into the English frontiers; but she answers that she writes at Wedderburn's desire, and that while De la Bastie lived the Homes could obtain no favour in Scotland. B. I, 244, 239. David Home, prior of Coldingham, was murdered by James Hepburn of Hailes. Less. 389, Buch. XIV, 10. Lindsay, 203. In revenge Blacader, his successor, was assassinated by Home of Wedderburn as after narrated.

⁴ Rymer, XIII, 599. This peace of two years was granted at the request of France. O. Margaret to Dacre (Oct. 1517) B. I, 241.

1518 been pardoned on submission, and perhaps by some gratifications to the avarice of their prosecutors⁵.

During nearly four succeeding years the materials of history are scanty, and unimportant; and with the void in our annals the defect of the epistolary commerce of the actors concerned also corresponds. When great events are in agitation numerous resources must be employed, an eagerness of intelligence prevails; and the letters being of real importance are the more likely to be preserved. England had likewise attained her chief object in effecting the absence of Albany, and was occupied with more important affairs on the continent, so that her intercourse with Scotland, (to which we are indebted for the most curious epistles, France being too distant, and the natives not corresponding with each other on events generally known in their country,) became lax and unfrequent; and a similar sterility is found during the actual authority of James V, his attachment to France rendering any correspondence with England, except by the means of ambassadors, almost an act of treason.

In the former reign the repeated insurrections of Sweden against Denmark, the ally of Scotland, have been mentioned; and the aid promised or lent by James IV to John the Danish sovereign. Sweden continuing to shew as little attachment to Christiern II, the successor of his father John, and afterwards from his cruel measures in that kingdom to be surnamed the tyrant, he had in the preceding year applied to the Scottish regency, for the assistance of a thousand highlanders, to war in the mountainous heaths of the rebellious country⁶. This request was refused, on pretence that the highlanders were then engaged in continued conflicts among themselves⁷; but really because the government had no power over those lawless

⁵ Less. 388, 389.

⁶ Epist. R. S. I, 301.

⁷ Ibid. 302.

men, whom the distance and ignorance of Christiern had re- 1518
presented to him as the immediate subjects of Scotland. Chris-
tiern now sent a herald to the Scottish council, with a letter from June
Albany enforcing his demands of men and artillery; but they
were eluded on pretext of the uncertain dispositions of Eng-
land, which continued to receive the rebels of Scotland, and
to injure her borders⁸.

The discord between the factions of Angus and Arran con-
tinued to increase; but the former was somewhat weakened
by the want of confidence between the queen and her husband.
She had behaved with the attention, if not the affection, of a
wife, since her return; and had even pawned or sold her jewels
and plate, to support his interest, his personal profusion being
great⁹. But not contented with wasting her property he
wounded both her love, and her pride, by vague amours, par-
ticularly with a lady of Douglassdale¹, a daughter of Stuart of
Traquair according to some, whom his violent passion had
secluded from her friends, and by whom he had a daughter
Jane Douglas afterwards wedded to Patrick lord Ruthven².
The queen, stung with this new disgrace, which revived and
increased the latent but deep wound inflicted by his former
abrupt and cruel dereliction of her sick-bed in England, now
spoke of a divorce³. But Henry, sensible that such a step Aug.
would be ruinous to his interests in Scotland, sent surreptiti-
ously a friar, named Henry Chadworth, minister general of Oa.
the friars observants in England, who remonstrated against her
intentions with the vehemence and haughtiness to be expected
from a recluse; and presented letters from Henry worthy of

⁸ Ibid. 305.⁹ Cal. B. I, 275.¹ Less. 391.² Hume's House of Douglas, II, 83.³ Less. 391.

1518 his natural tyranny and impetuosity⁴. A copy of a letter from the friar to the queen is extant⁵: it is replete with latin and scripture, and with advices against the divorce, a design to which, he says, she can only be seduced by "damnable delusion," as malice alone can blame Angus, whose fair daughter by her she was unnaturally about to abandon: and it even concludes with a kind of impeachment of her own conduct, thundering loud and sharp sentences against adultery. Such means were little adapted to the inborn freedom of the human mind, or to the softness of a sex, repugnant to sternness, though easily won by gentleness; and Margaret was henceforth somewhat estranged from her brother, and even more negligent of her reputation, thus wantonly attacked by her friends, while her enemies were silent. She was however for a while intimidated, and confounded; and though the chancellor, Argyle, Arran, Lennox, with the lords Fleming, Sempil, and Maxwell, warmly opposed her reconciliation to Angus, she met him at Edinburgh, and it was effected for a season⁶: but it was insincere; and, after seven years inquietude, a divorce often threatened was at length to divide this unhappy marriage. Margaret however insisted upon a renunciation from Angus of any claim upon her revenues; and soon after signed a commission to Dacre, Magnus, and Robert Ker of Selkirk, who empowered Gawin Dunbar arch-deacon of
23 Dec. St. Andrews, Robert Barton of Over Barnton, Sir Thomas

* O. Dacre to Wolsey, 22 Oct. [1518,] B. II, 277. Angus in an original letter to Henry, 19 Oct. [1518,] B. I, 141, testifies his gratitude for the mission of Chadworth. From this letter it appears that Sir George Douglas had been two years in France, by command of the regent.

⁵ Cal. B. VI, 194. It is alluded to in Margaret's curious defence of herself, sent to Dacre, 11 March 1522, B. VI, 232.

⁶ O. Dacre to Wolsey, 22 Oct. [1518,] B. II, 277.

Halkerston provost of Crichton, James Wishart of Pittaro ¹⁵¹⁸ justice clerk, and Adam Otterburn, to collect her rents, and manage her endowed estates which were very considerable⁷.

We have seen Albany intercede with the council of regency, in support of the Danish king's request: and he continued, during his residence at Paris, to interfere in the foreign affairs of Scotland, in virtue of the commission given to him to transact them, though absent from his official station. Patrick Panter remained in France, as his secretary, where he died the following year; Albany having used his eloquent pen in promoting his influence. The citizens of Middleburg applied to the nominal regent, desiring to have their town constituted the Scottish mart in the Low Countries, instead of Campvere; but the latter by presents to Albany maintained its appointment⁸. The disposal of benefices was however the most fertile field of speculation: and Albany, by frequent applications to the pope, exerted himself to render it productive⁹: but he has the merit of soliciting for natives, while the cardinals, and the Italian clergy, their dependents, were eagerly grasping at every vacant benefice in christendom; nor did their avarice spare situations of which they were as ignorant as of the antipodes; an abuse daily complained of, and among many others, to advance the reformation now commenced by Luther.

Not contented with a distant influence, Albany had recourse to a mean artifice, in order to induce the French monarch to delegate him to his former station in Scotland; by commanding Panter to write a letter to Leo X, in the name of the three estates of Scotland, and dated at Edinburgh, intreating

1519
Jan.

⁷ C. Commission, dated at length 23 Dec. 1518, Cal. B. VI, folio ver. 107.

⁸ Epist. R. S. I, 276, 284.

⁹ Ibid. 278, 282, 288, &c. One letter successfully solicits the abbey of Scone for Alexander Stuart, the regent's elder brother.

the

1519 the pontiff to intercede for them with Francis, that the regent might be permitted to return¹: but this artifice was as ineffectual as it was presumptuous.

Meanwhile the Danish king, finding his success against Steno Sture, the second Swedish administrator of that name, more and more doubtful², did not cease to instigate the remote aid of Scotland, by the means of his ambassador Alexander Kinghorn, a Scottish physician established in Denmark. The council of regency and the earl of Arran whose power as lieutenant general, was now such as to be separately courted, answered that the incursions of the islanders prevented any great exertion in support of their ally; but that any rebels, or persons guilty of treason against the state, should be arrested and sent³. A fit assistance to the second Christiern, now revolving the sanguinary massacre of Stockholm, and opening by the axe of despotism the path to Swedish independance, and to the glorious revolution to be effected by Gustaf Wase! Yet soon after a small supply of soldiers and ammunition was sent to Copenhagen, under the command of James Stuart of Ardgowan⁴; but some merchants of Leith giving in, almost at the same time, a remonstrance against the Danes, who had seized their ship after it had been rifled by Swedish pirates; the council sent a warm memorial to Christiern⁵; and appear to have abandoned any further effort to serve him in his ungenerous enterprizes.

The French king having renewed the peace with England in the preceding year, and Scotland being included among other allies, if she accepted the terms⁶, an ambassador came

¹ Epist. R. S. I, 294, and the note of the transcriber 296.

² Mallet Abr. de l'Hist. de Dannemarc, I, 188.

³ Epist. R. S. I, 313, 315.

⁴ Ibid. 317, 318.

⁵ Ib. 320.

⁶ Du Tillet, Recueil des Traictez, sub anno.

from

from France to England, in order thence to proceed to Scotland⁷, and procure a prolongation of the truce, about to expire at St. Andrew's day. At the same time Francis had written to the council of regency, desiring this extension of the truce; but the chancellor informed Dacre that the powers of the council were not sufficient for this purpose, and that the consent of a parliament was necessary⁸: and it indeed appears, from many events and dispatches, that it was esteemed indispensable to call a parliament, when any matter of moment was to be discussed. This assembly was apparently soon convened; for the French ambassador, attended by Benolt the Clarenceux herald, proceeded towards Scotland; and was met at Morpeth by Dacre, pursuant to Wolfey's desire⁹. He brought Henry's consent to the prolongation of the truce for one year, to St. Andrew's day fifteen hundred and twenty; and Wolfey wrote to the queen that the due payment of her revenues, and her honourable treatment, were special terms of the truce¹. As the French ambassador declared that, if Scotland rejected this treaty, France would abandon her cause², the conditions were after some deliberation accepted³; but not without

Nov.

⁷ Lesley, 393, mentions de la Fiott (Fayette?) and Cordell, as the French ambassadors. Rymer omits the instrument of peace from Nov. 30, 1519, to Nov. 30, 1520.

⁸ C. Archbishop of Glasgow, chancellor, to Dacre, 29 Oct. B. II, 197.

⁹ C. Wolfey to Dacre, [Nov. 1519,] Cal. B. VI, 6.

¹ Ibid.

² Ibid.

³ Margaret in a letter to Wolfey, 17 Dec. [1519,] B. VI, 270, informs him that the peace had been proclaimed that day, by the lords and Clarenceux at Stirling, to continue till St. Andrew's day next, (30 Nov. 1520:) she complains of the conduct of the peers, and wishes to withdraw into England, as she and Angus never can live in concord. She adds that as Henry had sent her a diamond, she returns a token to him, being a ring which he had formerly sent to

1519 without reflections on the haughty conduct of France to her ally, whom she never previously consulted in a pacification, but made treaties on her own terms, and then forced Scotland to assent⁴.

Meanwhile suspicions of a pestilence having arisen at Edinburgh, the king was removed from the castle to Dalkeith, a pleasant village in its vicinity, where the court was increased and adorned by the arrival of the earl of Murray from France⁵. He was a natural son of the late king, and now in his twentieth year⁶; but his destiny in history is obscure, and unlike that of the celebrated regent, the son of James V. The public commotions were far from being appeased even by the dismal apprehensions of a pestilence, and the factions of Angus and Arran raged with increasing fury. David Home of Wedderburn, who had married the sister of Angus, revived his character of an assassin, by the murder of Blacader, prior of Coldingham, and six men of his family: and William Douglas

her; and apologizes for not writing with her own hand, as she is sick with the small pox.

Though Rymer, as just mentioned, has no instrument of this truce, Lesley, who has used far superior materials to those of Buchanan, presents some curious details concerning it, p. 393, from which it appears that Angus endeavoured to induce the ambassadors to regard him, and his party, as the rulers; and upon their persisting in requiring the consent of Arran, and the council, and concluding the truce at Stirling with them, Angus beset the envoys on their return by Carlaveroc, and not only sternly reproached them, but put them in the utmost fear of their lives.

⁴ Our historians often err in supposing Scotland not mentioned in the treaties between France and England: the affront lay in not demanding the previous consent, and counsel of Scotland.

⁵ O. Dacre to Wolsey, 19 Oct. [1519,] Cal. B. III, 16.

⁶ Ibid. "He is a *springeold* (fine youth) of twenty years of age." He was afterwards lieutenant general of the kingdom 1532, and ambassador to France 1535. He died in 1544: Stewart's Gen. p. 85.

brother

brother of Angus seized the priory⁷. Nor was the capital 1519
 sacred from their debates, for Arran, who is now termed
 lieutenant general of the kingdom⁸, a station perhaps assigned
 to him by Albany on his departure, having been elected provost
 or mayor of Edinburgh, an office ever of high respect, but at
 that time, on account of its influence in the chief city, an
 object of ambition even among the nobles, the Douglasses ex-
 erted every effort to dispell this addition to his power; which
 had recently been increased by a divorce from his wife, and a
 marriage with the chancellor's niece, so that the archbishop
 was now devoted to Arran's faction⁹. Taking advantage of
 his absence, and that of the king, from the capital, they pro-
 cured Archibald Douglas, the uncle of Angus to be chosen
 provost: and upon Arran's speedy return, the gates were shut, Dec.
 he was opposed by arms, and repulsed; many being wounded,
 and a few slain¹. Gawin a carpenter, being reputed a chief
 author of the tumult, was soon after slain by Sir James Ha-
 milton². The French envoy and Clarenceux³, still remaining
 in Scotland till the truce should have passed through the usual
 forms, were witnesses of those and other disgraceful disorders.

The king was speedily brought back to the castle of Edin-
 burgh, and was attended by Angus, Errol, Crawford, Glamis,

⁷ Lell. 392. O. Dacre to Wolsey, 19 Oct. B. III, 16.

⁸ O. Dacre to Wolsey, 10 Dec. [1519,] Cal. B. II, 221.

⁹ Ibid. Crawford in his Renfrewshire, and Peerage, supposes this divorce and new marriage to have taken place in 1513. Arran's bride was Janet, daughter of Sir David Beton of Creigh in Fife, Crawf. ib. Yet she is mentioned as the wife of Arran in a charter of Nov. 1516. Scott. Cal. if there be no mistake. The date of Dacre's letter is very clear from its other contents, and yet he mentions the marriage as recent. ¹ Ibid.

² Lell. 392, whose account of these transactions is authenticated by Dacre's letter. Perhaps *Faber lignarius* may be a name—Gawin Wright.

³ Dacre's letter, 10 Dec.

1519 Forman archbishop of St. Andrew's, the bishops of Dunkeld, Aberdeen, Orkney, Dumblane, and many abbots and ecclesiastics of rank, who withdrew to the capital as a place of safety. But the gates of the castle were shut by the lords to whose care the king was committed; and the party of Angus did not presume to violate the decree of the national council. Arran for a while withdrew to Glasgow; whither he was followed by the chancellor, Lennox, Eglinton, Cassils, Sempil, Ross, the bishop of Galloway, the abbot of Paisley, and many other ecclesiastic, and temporal, chiefs of the western regions⁵; so that the dispute seemed to divide Scotland into the eastern and western factions, the former maintaining the English, the latter the French, interest.

1520 Jan. Among the enemies of Angus was Ker of Fernihurst, irritated by some dispute concerning a court to be held in Jedburgh-forest. Sir James Hamilton, the bastard of Arran, assembled four hundred men to support the claim of Fernihurst; but John lord Somerville, and Ker of Cessford, suddenly attacking Hamilton's party, they fled, leaving four on the field, and their leader with difficulty escaped to Home castle⁶.

A parliament having been summoned to meet at Edinburgh on the twenty ninth day of April⁷, probably with a view to mitigate the contending factions, and allay the national disorders, very different effects ensued. For the party of Angus

⁵ Less. 392.

⁶ Less. 394. Buchan. XIV, 11. The latter, in his usual erroneous chronology, ascribes this incident to 1517.

⁷ Buch. XIV, 12. The subsequent account of this affray called Cleanse the Causeway is drawn from Buchan. ib. Lesley, 394; but chiefly from Lindsay, 186—188, who however, with his usual want of chronology, dates the event in 1513. See also Hume's House of Douglas, II, 75—80. Unhappily no original letter on the subject remains.

having

having in a great measure evacuated the capital, that the assembly might be free, that of Arran arrived in such numbers ¹⁵²⁰ that apprehensions were entertained, or pretended, for the safety of Angus, who had retained only about four hundred followers armed with spears. From Buchanan's account it indeed appears that to soothe the Hamiltons, Archibald Douglas had resigned his magistracy, which was conferred on Robert Logan^s; and that the fears for Angus were well grounded, as the western peers had met in the chancellor's house, and consulted on the means of apprehending that earl. Angus, informed of their meeting and intentions, sent his uncle Gawin Douglas bishop of Dunkeld to caution them against any violence; and offered, if they had any offence to alledge, that he would be judged by the laws of the country. But the bishop found them already armed, and determined on the most desperate measures. He reproached the chancellor, James Beton archbishop of Glasgow, for procedures so unworthy of a churchman, who imputed the whole to Arran, enraged at the many insults he had suffered from Angus. The archbishop, prepared for a rencounter, had clothed himself with mail concealed under his cassock, and concluded a vehement speech to Gawin Douglas by striking his breast, and exclaiming, "There is no remedy. Upon my conscience, I cannot help it." His armour rang under his hand; and Dunkeld said, with a sneer, "I perceive, my lord, that your conscience is not found, as appears from its rattling." He then applied to Sir Patrick Hamilton, the brother of Arran, to mediate concord; but Sir James Hamilton, Arran's natural son, reproaching Sir Patrick as averse to fight, the latter was stung with the sarcasm, and

^s Arnot, Hist. Edin. quotes the council register, Vol. I, p. 12, for an order in Albany's name, prohibiting the election of a Hamilton or a Douglas into the office of provost. It is dated 20 Feb. 1519-20.

they

1520 they all rushed into the streets, attended by a formidable band of followers.

Meanwhile Angus had arranged his adherents in the high street, and apparently in the upper part of it extending from the castle to St. Giles's church; and he was now, or in the midst of the conflict, joined by David Home of Wedderburn, and William Douglas prior of Coldingham, with their ferocious followers from the marches, summoned before to his assistance by the zeal of his friends. The contest was fierce; and about seventy were slain, among whom was Sir Patrick Hamilton, who fell by the hand of Angus himself⁹, and lord Montgomery the son of Eglinton. Arran, (whose followers could hardly form any batallion, being slain or routed as they issued from the narrow passages on the south into the street), was forced to flee with his bastard son through a ford in the northern lake; while the chancellor, and many others, regained the Dominican church, on the opposite side of the city¹. Beton was seized behind the high altar, and in danger of his life, when Gawin Douglas who had, with the decency of his order, retired to his lodging during the conflict, learning the perilous situation of the archbishop, flew to his rescue; and requesting his assailers not to contaminate their cause by the blood of a consecrated prelate, he succeeded in the pious attempt.

The party of Angus remained masters of the city, and did not use their victory with much moderation. The earl visited the queen his wife, who had taken refuge in the castle, and whose affections were completely estranged from him. George

⁹ This circumstance is evidenced by a letter from Wolfey to Norfolk, 1524, Cal. B. I, 325, mentioning the causes of the enmity between Angus and Arran: the cardinal adds that the former attempted to kill the latter himself.

¹ The Blackfriars, or Dominican, convent and church occupied the site of the present Infirmary, a happy exchange of superstition for beneficence.

Home the brother of the late earl, and many other chiefs, ¹⁵²⁰ with their followers, some months after, joined Angus at Edinburgh. In contempt of Albany's authority, the heads of the executed earl of Home, and his brother William, were taken down from the tolbooth, and solemnly buried in the Dominican church yard ^{21 July}. On the following day, Angus learning that the chancellor, and other partizans of Arran, were to meet at Stirling, he suddenly marched thither, expecting to seize them unaware; but they had timely notice, and escaped. He then dismissed his followers, and all retired to their respective homes ³.

Francis I having been informed of the tumultuous state of Scotland, had dispatched Flamigny ⁴, in the beginning of the year, to recommend internal concord; but the haughty conduct of the French king, on repeated occasions, had left him but small influence with his ally. A more dignified embassy ^{Nov.} now arrived in the persons of Robert Stuart, lord of Aubigny, a successor of the victor of Naples, and Johan de Planis, whose former residence in Scotland had given him experience in the affairs of that country ⁵. Their instructions were to this purport, that peace should be preserved as much as possible during the king's minority, and that the truce with England should be prolonged; that Albany's return ought not to be desired, being warmly opposed by Henry, who had averred, that, on that event, he would declare war at the expiration of the truce, and the English party at the same time opposing Albany,

² Lessl. 395, ever superior in accuracy to Buchanan, who, XIV, 12, dates this incident in the ensuing year. Seldom or never are elegance and exactness united. ³ Lessl. *ibid*.

⁴ Instructions to Aubigny, Cal. B. VI, 140. C. letter of Francis to the parliament of Scotland, *ib.* 147. C. letters sent by Flamigny, *ib.* 148.

⁵ C. Francis to parl. of S. *ib.* 147.

1520 an external war would be joined with intestine commotions; that Francis earnestly attached to the welfare of Scotland, desired his embassadors to use every endeavour to allay the domestic ferments, and restore public order; and lastly that as Louisa, the mother of the French king, and ever regent in his absence, was to send an embassy to England, before St. Andrew's day, so the Scots should be desired to follow the same course⁶. A letter was also brought, directed to the parliament of Scotland, importing that Francis now fulfilled his promise by Flamigny, that an honourable embassy should be sent, to appease discords, in committing this trust to Aubigny the captain of his guards, and De Planis a doctor of laws, both of them counsellors of state; and that it was advantageous for the internal and external tranquillity of Scotland that Albany should remain in France⁷.

But the political sky now began to be darkened with clouds, which were soon to produce a tempest. In the preceding year Charles king of Spain had been elected emperor, in opposition to Francis I, whose resentment indicated those approaching wars, which were for a long time to agitate Europe. The English monarch held his famous conference with Francis in June this year: but the ambition of Wolsey, who hoped to attain the papacy by supporting Charles V, was soon to direct the councils of Henry against France. The French embassadors had been dispatched at a time when it was the interest of both Henry and Francis that peace between England and Scotland should be preserved; but the fluctuation of Henry's disposition now rendered it necessary that Scotland should be free from that connection, that she might assist France if attacked by the English arms. Amid these doubts and variations

⁶ Instructions, *ibid*.

⁷ Epist. *supra cit*.

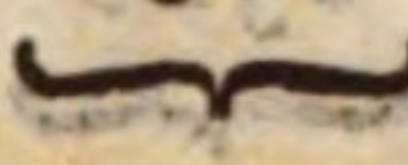
it is no wonder that only short and reluctant truces were ¹⁵²⁰ formed⁸; which however continued till the second day of February fifteen hundred and twenty two, when they were succeeded by open war.

Aubigny and De Planis having remained in Scotland some ¹⁵²¹ months, vainly attempting to conciliate the intestine debates, now returned through England to France⁹. But an envoy ^{March} from Albany remained behind to manage his interests; and particularly to effect a grand design, which was for a short time to have no small influence in Scottish politics¹. The queen, not chusing punctually to follow the dictates of Henry, was treated by him, and by Wolsey and Dacre, with neglect: and in revenge, and in expectation of more attention, and more considerable pecuniary supplies, she turned her eyes towards France. A conjunction of her interests with those of Albany promised to both the complete command of Scotland; and she knew the French court was prodigal of money in support of any scheme, while the avaricious Wolsey too intent on

⁸ See Rymer, 730—733, concerning Aubigny and De Planis. Some correspondence on the subject, between the archbishop of Glasgow chancellor and Dacre, Feb. and March 1521, is extant, Cal. B. VI, 227, 229. The chancellor dates “at my ciete of Glasgow,” and complains that his lands of Stobo had been despoiled by the English borderers.

⁹ Their original letter to Dacre, desiring a safe conduct, is dated 22 Feb. 1521, B. III, 137. It is hardly necessary to remind the reader that where the year began on the 25th of March, the date is throughout this work silently and uniformly accommodated to modern computation.

¹ C. Instructions, Angus, Home, and Somerville, to Dunkeld, 14 Dec. 1521, B. VI, 204, where it is mentioned that this envoy had been for a year with Margaret, to prepare the conjunction: and it is probable that he was Gouzolles, captain of Dunbar; for Lesley, 389, says that one Maurice was, in 1517, appointed to that office; and Lindsay 204, 222, names Maurice as captain of that fortrefs in 1524 and 1528. The name was perhaps Maurice de Gouzolles. In Lindsay's history, p. 204, *Lufence* is a mere corruption of Gouzolles. See the notes at 1524.

1521  amassing treasures to purchase the papal throne, would not supply her finances, rendered dubious and scanty by the disturbed state of property, amid the intestine conflagrations. At any rate she would evince her weight to Henry, and render him willing to secure her return to his interests by a conduct more fraternal, and rewards more opulent. Such, if we may judge from her own letters, were the motives of Margaret. On the other hand Albany had found from experience how ineffectual his own power had proved; and as he had, after a rash recourse to violent measures against her, in vain attempted a reconciliation, when the offences were too keen and recent, it is not surprizing that he eagerly acceded to this plan, first suggested as appears, by a letter from the queen, inviting his return². The terms were accordingly, unknown to England, concluded to the satisfaction of both; but they were conditional as the consent of Francis to Albany's presence in Scotland could not be effected at the expence of his amity with Henry; an obstacle which the inimical conduct of the English court towards France was soon to remove.

This plot was however disclosed by spies to the acute Dacre,
 10 July who in a letter reproached the queen for writing to Francis and soliciting Albany's return, while she knew that his father had termed James III a bastard, and had aspired to the kingdom³; a conduct which the regent's ambition would prompt
 14 July him to imitate. Margaret, in her answer, confesses that she wrote the letter, at the request, as she alledges, of the peers; but accuses Henry and Wolsey, as the authors of her necessity to adopt this plan, as her revenues since her return had been dilapidated, and she had in vain applied to her brother for

² O. Dacre to Margaret, 10 July, Cal. B. II, 158.

³ Ibid.

remedy.

remedy⁴. Wolfey also informed Dacre that he had some in- 1521
telligence of this design, the French king having imparted to
the English embassador at Paris that Albany intended to revisit
Scotland, and was soliciting the queen's divorce from Angus,
apparently with an intention to marry her; and that Francis
had added his apprehensions concerning the fate of the infant
king⁵.

During these transactions the powers of the regency were
insensibly diminished; Angus, one of the members, maintain-
ing an uncontrouled sway. He was ever firmly attached to
the English interest, but his youth and inexperience rendered
his attachment of little value, and the disorders of his follow-
ers disgusted all ranks; while Arran, himself a model of do-
mestic œconomy and prudence, recommended his party by
their general respect to law and property⁶.

Henry being now about to conclude a treaty with the em-
peror Charles V against France, the interests of the latter
country no longer prohibited the return of Albany to Scotland,
but on the contrary demanded the presence of this delegate of
Francis in that country. The regent accordingly failed; and
arrived at Gareloch in Lennox, on the nineteenth of Novem- 19 Nov.
ber⁷. Proceeding by easy journeys to Linlithgow, he was

⁴ O. Margaret to Dacre, Cal. B. II, 159. It was probably about this time
that the queen sent an envoy to England, with the instructions, B. II, 300;
they mention a report in Scotland, which Margaret repeated with tears, that
the young king was with Henry his uncle in England, while she had a poor
child in his place. The party of Angus might thus attempt to agitate the public
mind.

⁵ C. Wolfey to Dacre, B. III, 52. Albany's wife was sickly, and
threatened, or promised, no long existence.

⁶ O. Magnus to Wolfey, 9 Jan. 1525, B. II, 72.

⁷ Lest. 396. Buchanan, XIV, 13, puts 30 Oct. erroneously as usual, for
Dunkeld in his memorial, B. III, 309, says Albany did not arrive till towards
the end of November.

1521 there joined by the queen; who had left Edinburgh, then possessed by Angus, in the night, accompanied by several lords and chiefs, among whom was remarked Sir James Hamilton the natural son of Arran, and mortal enemy of Angus⁸. Margaret, who at the time of Albany's former regency, had been just wedded to a young and attentive husband, and had regarded the duke as both a political and personal enemy, was now changed with the times; and such imprudent marks of affection appeared, between her and the regent, that there was ample room for scandal to accuse them both of adultery⁹.

3 Dec. The nobles and chiefs crowding to the regent's court with congratulations, Angus and his party fled from Edinburgh towards the borders in great dismay. The regent entered the capital, accompanied by the queen, the chancellor, and a numerous assemblage of the peers¹. On the following day he visited the king in the castle, when the captain delivered the keys to the regent, who gave them to the queen; and from her hands again received them, as a symbol that he was the most proper person to keep the infant monarch². He then

⁸ C. Dacre's instructions to an envoy, sent to Margaret, 6 March 1522, B. VI, 230; Margaret's answer, B. VI, 232: but in the instructions from Angus to Dunkeld, VI, 204, it is said that Albany on his arrival went to Stirling, whence he and the queen proceeded to Linlithgow together: the latter account seems a party exaggeration.

⁹ The original letters, alluding to this, are numerous; and some will be referred to in the subsequent narrative. In the mean time the very words of Dacre may be quoted, from his paper sent to Henry, being an opinion on the *articles* of Angus, Home, and Somerville, Dec. 1521, B. VI, 205. "There is marvellous grete intelligence betwene her (the queen) and the duk, as welc all the day as mich of the night: and in maner they sett not by who knowe it. And if I durst say it, for fere of displeasure of my soverain, they ar over tendre; whereof if your grace examyne the Busshop of Dunkeld of his conscience, I trust he will shew the troughe." f. v. 205. ¹ Lessl. 396.

² C. Instructions, Angus, &c. to Dunkeld, 14 Dec. B. VI, 204.

ordered a parliament to be proclaimed, to be held at Edinburgh ¹⁵²¹ on the twenty sixth of that month of December: and the Douglasses and their adherents, particularly Somerville, Home of Wedderburn, Cambusnethan, Cockburn of Langton, were soon after formally summoned to answer the high charges to be adduced against them ³.

Meanwhile Albany and the queen had entered into a correspondence with Dacre ⁴, who to the former, complaining that the truce had been infringed, answered that his desire was to preserve it inviolate: to the queen Dacre replies that she only writes by the regent's instigation ⁵, when she avers that he had come to Scotland to serve her son who had been ill-treated, and assist her in procuring her jointure, that his arrival was for peace internal and external; and when she concludes with reproaching Dacre with her injuries, particularly in counselling Angus against her interest. Albany sent Gaultier Malignes, his secretary, to Dacre, remonstrating that ^{12 Dec.} though Henry was bound by the truce not to receive Scottish rebels, yet the bishop of Dunkeld, summoned to Rome by the regent's desire, and other rebels, were permitted to pass into England; and he desires they may be restored, to answer for their misdeeds at the approaching parliament. Dacre replied that the chief infringement of the truce was by the Scots themselves, who, because a petty English incursion had been unredressed, had recently entered England to the amount of four

³ Less. ib.

⁴ To be found in Caligula, B. VI, 198—203. On the 1st of December 1521, Albany and the chancellor wrote to the cardinal of Ancona, desiring that the fee of St. Andrew's might be assigned to Beton, so that Forman was now dead. B. VI, 214, 225.

⁵ This insinuation seems confirmed by the queen's letter, 4 Dec. B. VI, 200, in which the date, and signature, are added in a different ink, probably after the letter had been shewn to Albany.

1521 hundred men, had burnt Learmouth near Wark, and therein
 a helpless female; had carried off four hundred kine, two
 thousand sheep, four hundred goats, and thirty geldings, with
 twenty captives. He at the same time retorted that lord
 Maxwell, the warden of the western marches, would not
 proclaim the peace; while the Homes, termed by Albany re-
 bels, were the sole guardians of the eastern borders: and that
 if redress were not assigned the truce was to be regarded as
 annulled: nor does he address Albany as regent, but as one of
 the council. This spirited letter procured from the regent an
 immediate promise of redress: and the truce maintained its
 dubious faith till its expiration at candlemas next year. Dacre
 19 Dec. communicated these affairs to Wolfey⁶, at the same time in-
 forming him that Albany already used the style of majesty,
 saying "our wardens," and "our parliament;" and that, as
 he had spoken thus, "who is this Dacre? Is there none of you
 borderers who can fall into an altercation with him, and do
 me a pleasure?" he requested the cardinal to issue a joint com-
 mission of wardency to himself and his brothers; that if danger
 arose he might send one of them to transact the business of the
 borders. He also adds that, since the arrival of Albany, three
 ships had reached Scotland from France laden with artillery,
 cartwheels, mattocks, and spades, accompanied by not one
 gentleman, but by one hundred and sixty craftsmen and artifi-
 cers, chiefly as would appear in the military line; and that
 they had brought into port a Flemish ship of war, taken on
 their voyage⁷. The minuteness of these, and some other par-
 ticulars, it is hoped the reader will pardon, not only as they
 are new and unknown to former writers, but as they illustrate
 the times, and the manners.

⁶ O. Dacre to Wolfey, 19 Dec. 1521, Cal. B. II, 274.

⁷ Ibid.

Angus, George Home, called lord Home by the English party, and Somerville, having taken refuge at the Kirk of Steyle, empowered the bishop of Dunkeld, now passing into England, to transact their cause with Henry. Their instructions to him are signed on the fourteenth of December⁸; and after accusing the queen of maintaining a correspondence with Albany for a year past by means of his envoy, and referring to Dunkeld for other yet more criminal charges against her, they proceed to shew the danger in which their king is left; and to point out the remedies to be insisted on by Henry, such as, that the regent have no appointment of officers about the person of James, nor approach within thirty miles of his residence; they conclude by requesting Henry, as they had sworn not to treat with Albany but with his leave, not to negotiate on his part without attention to their interest; and they desire to know what support they may expect if Albany ascend the throne. Dunkeld was desired to visit Dacre on his journey; to whom having shewn his instructions, that skillful peer entrusted him with his opinion upon them in writing, with much additional information addressed to the English monarch, which not being destitute of curiosity and importance shall here be abstracted⁹. Dacre remarks that there was a rumour in Scotland of Albany's ascending the throne by the death of James; that the queen had attempted to induce Angus to a divorce, by offering him Ettrick forest, a part of her endowed lands, worth twelve hundred Scottish marks yearly; that the intelligence between her and the duke was scandalous, and in his opinion adulterous, if he may venture to insinuate so deli-

⁸ Cal. B. VI, 204. There is every reason to conclude that these instructions were drawn up by the bishop of Dunkeld. The obscure kirk of Steyle, whence they are dated, seems unknown to modern maps.

⁹ Cal. B. VI, 205.

1521 cate a matter to his sovereign, but for this he refers to Dunkeld; that the Scottish peers were more disposed to their own interest than to that of James; and Albany's influence with his relation the pope was such that all the abbeyes were in his gift, and all the benefices falling in the papal month, which is every third month, and he gave them to sons of peers, and other men of rank not in orders; lord Fleming's son having the abbey of Holyroodhouse, worth yearly fourteen hundred pounds sterling; that the regent sold benefices as merchandize, and had received in money or security for them forty thousand marks Scottish, equivalent to ten thousand marks sterling: that he offered peace to the Douglas party upon these terms, Angus to consent to a divorce; and lord Home to resign such of his own or his wife's lands as were given away. The English warden proceeds to point out to his sovereign the danger of Albany's seizing the crown, and Scotland's being thus subject to a Frenchman; but that it would be preferable to continue an appearance of truce, as the Scots were "of that poverty and wretchedness, that they cannot make restitution upon a peace, as is the practice of other realms:" he adds that sums may be assigned to the northern lords of England, who shall make great inroads, and thus prevent the Scottish incursions by occupying their borderers in defence; and that if Henry gar-rison the frontiers, and a report of instant war be covertly spread, he may distress as much as by open enmity, except he prefer to send large armies. But this crafty advice was little adapted to Henry's impetuosity.

end Dec. The bishop of Dunkeld proceeded to London: and Angus and his followers were soon forced to retire into the English frontiers. Albany governed Scotland with absolute sway; and that ill-fated country seemed to have become a province of France.

BOOK XIII.

BEING

THE SECOND AND LAST PART OF

THE MINORITY OF JAMES V.

*More moderate conduct of Albany—Dunkeld's memorial—
Henry's enmity to his sister—war with England—negotiations
—Albany invades England—truce of Salom—Albany's second
retreat to France—English incursions—design to give James
the active sceptre—Fedburgh burnt—Albany's third arrival—
he invests Wark—his shameful flight—his final retreat to France
—Margaret and Arran in power—accomplishments of the young
king—truce with England—duplicity of Margaret and Arran
—English ambassadors first resident in Scotland—Angus returns
—conspiracy—regency adjusted—Beton's intrigues—peace with
England—Angus usurps the supreme power—divorced from
the queen—attempt of Buccleugh—of Lennox—the Douglasses
abuse their power—Sir James Hamilton—commotions—Beton's
intrigues—Patrick Hamilton burnt—James escapes from An-
gus.*

THE six succeeding years of the minority of James V are ¹⁵²²
variegated with numerous events, and with singular, and
unexpected, changes in the government. A war of three years
VOL. II. C C with

1522 with England is to produce no great nor decisive incident ; but is to add to the calamities which Scotland experienced under the inglorious regency of John duke of Albany.

Jan. The parliament, which the regent had summoned to Edinburgh¹, appears not to have proceeded against Angus, and his adherents. Albany had discovered from experience that violence is but a resource of weakness, while a firm government is only to be founded on conciliation, and views of general interest. The bishop of Dunkeld, now in London, where he was to die of the pestilence in the ensuing month of March, managed with his usual ability the cause of his party at the English court.

1 Jan. He represented to Wolsey that Gaultier Malignes, the secretary of Albany, ought not to be listened to in his claim concerning Dunkeld's being remitted to Scotland, as he intended only to pass to Rome whither he had been summoned²; and he en-

6 Jan. deavoured to interest the cardinal against the promotion of James Beton archbishop of Glasgow, and chancellor, to the see of St. Andrew's, vacant by Forman's death³: but Beton's ambition was nevertheless successful.

A memorial, presented by the bishop of Dunkeld to the English court, deserves especial attention and shall here be abstracted, as it throws new and strong light on many features of Albany's regency, and on the state of Scotland at this time: but it must not be forgotten that it is the work of an enemy⁴. Dunkeld states that Albany has no estate in Scotland, sufficient

¹ In this parliament, on the 28th Dec. 1521, the treaty of Rouen, Aug. 1517, was solemnly confirmed. MS. Leagues France and Scotland, Harl. 1244, sub anno.

² O. Dunkeld to Wolsey, 1 Jan. 1522. Cal. B. VI, 213.

³ O. same to same, 6 Jan. B. VI, 424.

⁴ Cal. B. III, 309. Besides intrinsic evidence that this important paper was composed by Dunkeld, on comparing it with such of his letters as are not holographic, it will be found to be in the handwriting of his secretary.

to answer for his intromissions with the public money, but is a ¹⁵²² servant of France, an officer of her armies, a knight of her orders, a vassal for his wife's vast estates: that the king's fortresses of Dunbar, Dunbarton, and Inchgarvey, are garrisoned with Frenchmen, and the expences quadrupled, Albany being prodigal of the royal treasures; each soldier was allowed four pounds Scotch money of monthly pay; to De la Bastie, whom he had left as his deputy, a salary was assigned of five Scotch pounds daily, which, since his death, had been allotted to Arran: that the regent had not only wasted fifty thousand franks, sent by the French king to James in recompence of the damage sustained by Scotland in assisting France, and an additional sum of twenty thousand crowns recently received by himself during his residence in Paris, but had converted the royal robes, of cloth of gold and fables, and the tapestries of purple and crimson velvet⁵ into dresses for his own pages, and servants, and coined the large silver vases⁶: that he had sold the three famous ships, the pride of the Scotch navy, worth at least three hundred thousand franks, besides some smaller vessels, and had used the money as his own⁷: that he gave or sold the lands and heritages falling to the crown, which, by the express law of Scotland, the king himself could not do till he were of the age of twenty five years complete⁸; and

⁵ "Palit of purpur and velvet cramesyn," is the poetical expression of the translator of Virgil.

⁶ And coined in *plaks* (groats) the king's great silver *stoppis* double gilt.

⁷ The famous Michael was sold to Francis I, for 40,000 franks, (about as many pounds modern money,) in 1515 by Albany, with the solemn permission of the Scotch council in the name of James, which see Epist. R. S. I, 214. Dunkeld says that the three ships, with artillery, &c. had cost twice the sum for which they were sold.

⁸ It was probably about this time that a paper was written, Cal. B. VI, 405, from which it appears that the chancellor possessed the earldom of Fife—Huntley

1522 and he had, within two years, sold the wards both of lands and marriage of Drummond, Sanquhar, and Barnbogle, worth forty thousand pounds Scottish currency, and the marriages of the heiresses of Inverugy, worth more than ten thousand pounds like money: that there was no administration of justice: that Albany sold the ecclesiastic benefices: that, during the two first years of his regency, not less than three or four taxes, or contributions, had been levied on the people: that he had now imposed another tax, to the amount of twenty five thousand Scottish pounds: that he had appointed Robert Barton, a pirate, comptroller, and John Campbell, a bastard, without property, treasurer, who now jointly asserted that the king was indebted to each of them in a sum of ten thousand pounds, while they kept the royal child in such poverty, that he had hardly new doublets and hose, till his natural sister, the countess of Morton, provided them; and when the queen or Albany sent cloth of gold for the purpose, those covetous officers would not pay the taylor. The bishop, as is before mentioned, next brings against Albany the heinous charge of the death of the duke of Ross; and commemorates the similar crimes of Richard III: at the same time mentioning that Albany has an elder brother, Alexander Stuart commendator of Scone and Inchaffray, not in holy orders, but legally capable of marriage⁹. He then states that the parliament had, on the twenty first of January one thousand five hundred and twenty one¹, declared

the lordships of Brechin and Stradyc—Murray the duchy of Ross and Ardmarnach—Argyle the lordship of the Isles, Kintyre, Knapdale and Cowal—Lennox the lordship of Bute—Cassils the lordship of Galloway, and earldom of *Wynchdome*; and he was to answer to the *Harbarties* for these farms, at the duke's commandement.

⁹ His mother he calls a daughter of the earl of Orkney.

¹ In the original 1520: the modern computation is always followed.

that

that Albany's regency was to terminate, if he did not return ¹⁵²² before the first of August then next, now last², whereas he had not returned till towards the end of November, and had not been rechosen, but had usurped the authority: that the chancellor used his influence in procuring the succession to the throne to be declared in favour of Arran's sons, the children of his niece, and had said, on baptizing the first, "Who knows but I may live to place the crown on this head?" This long and interesting memorial is closed with a request, that Henry will imitate the example of his ancestor Henry III, who by arms removed the bad counsellors of the infant Alexander III³; and with a solemn asseveration of the veracity of its statements.

On the other hand, the queen sent an envoy to Henry her ^{6 Jan.} brother, with copious instructions wholly written by herself⁴. She represents that Albany had given to her the bishopric of Dunkeld, among other benefices, and desires that Henry will not support the bishop, considering the evils which his counsels have produced in Scotland, and the scandalous reports which he propagates against her; but as she had given to him the bishopric, so she shall show that she can resume it. Margaret promises that an honourable embassy shall be sent, if Henry will agree to prolong the truce to midsummer; and asserts that Albany had only returned to Scotland in consequence of his engagements, and that if he had not come she must have left the kingdom; that he interfered not with the king, but the lords had permitted her to remain with her son in Edinburgh castle; that the regent's conduct to her was most respectful⁵,

² "Lammas day last bypast."

³ For this Dunkeld refers to "the Scottis Cornikle."

⁴ Cal. B. VI, 208.

⁵ "Sober and humbler nor ony other in Scotland."

and

1522 and that he allowed her money from his own coffers. She requests that Clarenceux may be sent, as being well acquainted with Scotland, and known to her and Albany, who will declare to him his real intentions: if Henry refuse audience to her messenger, she desires him to give in his instructions; if all access be denied, to address Wolsey; but she hopes the king will lend a more favourable audience than his last, which was very stern: the cardinal, she adds, may correspond with Albany, yet she expects to be consulted; and as her industry has penned so long a paper, she prays her labour be not vain.

But it was completely vain, and Henry continued to favour Dunkeld and his party, though Albany and the chancellor exerted every art against him; the malice of the latter being further inflamed by a report that the bishop aspired to the see of St. Andrew's, which he hoped to attain by the English interest at Rome⁶. The fame of Margaret was blighted at her brother's court: Henry's violent temper hesitated not to denounce his sister's shame; and Wolsey, in the rage of his interrupted views, openly spoke of her, at the council board, as the concubine of Albany⁷. Clarenceux was sent to Scot-

⁶ In the Epist. R. S. I, 328, are letters under the great seal, confirming a decree against Dunkeld's claim of St. Andrew's, dated 21 Feb. 1522. At p. 333 occurs a letter from the chancellor to Christiern of Denmark, requesting him to support the authority of James at Rome, against the pretensions of Dunkeld to the primacy. It is dated 8th April; but the dates are sometimes erroneous; and it is possible that even then the death of Dunkeld, amid the extensive fatality of a pestilence, might not be known in Scotland: for from the cessation of his letters after January, there is additional reason to believe that his life extended not beyond Feb. or March, though the last editor of his Virgil, proleg. p. 13, incline to fix his death to April.

Gawin Douglas left one natural daughter, maternal ancestor of the house of Sempil of Foulwood. Hume's Dougl. II, 28.

⁷ O. Margaret to Henry, 11 Feb. 1522. B. I, 166.

land;

land; but he bore letters of anger, and not of conciliation. ¹⁵²² Henry wrote to the queen, in the most severe terms of reproach for her imprudent conduct, political and personal: to Albany he averred his intentions of driving him from Scotland, and refused to make any further truce while he remained there; at the same time accusing him for his arrival, in contradiction to the oath of the French king, who still declared that Albany had sailed without his knowledge; and for the detestable advising of his sister to a divorce for some iniquitous purpose⁹. The English monarch also addressed the parliament of Scotland, remonstrating against the regent, and declaring war if he were not stripped of his power: but the three estates in ^{11 Feb.} their answer repell the charges with spirit, assuring Henry that Albany being already married to a lady of large domains, he could have no personal view in favouring the queen's desire of a divorce from Angus; and they conclude with preferring war to a peace purchased with ignominy¹. The regent, according to Lesley, answered the herald's demand with much force in open parliament²: but, as he spoke no language but the French, an interpreter must have mediated in the explanation of his intentions to the audience. He informed Clarenceux, in private, that he preferred his French possessions to the crown of Scotland; that he was surprized that Wolsey should accuse him of such intercourse with the queen as only occurs with a wife or a concubine; and that he had no intention of marrying her, as his present wife was more than sufficient³. Margaret, in a letter to her brother, reproves the harshness of his correspondence, in which he accused her of profligate love for Albany, and of a design to wed him; she blames Wolsey for

⁹ Ibid. ¹ C. Henry to Albany, B. VI, 220. ² Rymer, XIII, 761.

² Lesl. 398. Albany might be magnanimous in oratory.

³ O. Clarenceux to Wolsey, 15 Feb. B. II, 166.

1522 his speech in open council, that she loved the regent to her dishonour; and she endeavours to fling discredit on Dunkeld⁴. Dacre soon after, by Wolsey's desire, sent a strong memorial to the queen against her conduct, of which his knowledge might, from proximity, seem more authentic⁵. She wrote an answer in six large pages, with her own hand, defending herself against every charge⁶. Her chief replies are, that at the last truce no mention was made of her interests; that she was neglected by Henry and by Dacre, while Angus usurped her houses and revenue, and she only received from England splendid professions: that, had not Albany assisted her, she must have sold her jewels and plate; and, says the queen, "I must bear good mind, where I find good deed . . . I must please this realm, since I have my living here; and have few friends, except my own good behaviour." She denies that she went to Linlithgow privately, as the peers knew her departure, and sir James Hamilton was but one of many in her train: to the charge of her amorous intercourse with Albany she modestly answers, and imputes the scandal to Dunkeld: the proposal of her resuming Angus, her husband, she firmly rejects, observing that she had married him in opposition to the national will, and had thereby lost the tutorage of her son, the castle of Stirling, and the regency, while the return she met was extreme unkindness; he usurped her revenues; and she adds, "above all things, he spoke openly dishonour of me⁷:" since therefore she wedded him solely by her own will, no menaces shall induce her to reconciliation.

The truce had expired on the second day of February; and both countries prepared for war, to be commenced when the

⁴ O. Margaret to Henry, 11 Feb. B. I, 166.

⁵ C. B. VI, 230.

⁶ O. B. VI, 232.

⁷ "And, abov all thyng, he spake opynly dyshonor of me."

returning

returning spring permitted military operations⁸. Angus, disgusted with his dubious residence on the English frontiers, had recourse to the queen's mediation with Albany, gained perhaps by his promise to consent to a divorce: and the regent pardoned him, on condition that he should exile himself to France⁹. He accordingly returned to Scotland, whence he passed to France for two years; and returned so much improved in general instruction, and political skill, that he was enabled to seize the reins of government, and long retain them, against all the arts and efforts of the queen, the fallen regent, and strong factions.

Some reluctance to proceed to hostilities still prevailed in both countries, and fluctuating negotiations were carried on for a prolongation of the truce. Henry was not enabled by his finances to muster an army against Scotland; but to evince his enmity to Albany he sent a squadron of seven ships, which seized several Scottish vessels near Inchkeith, and ravaged the maritime towns and villages. The English however soon en-

⁸ A curious memoir of the Dacres, on the state of Norham castle, dated 7 Feb. 1522, occurs in Cal. B. VI, 216, presenting a singular detail on the œconomy of an antient fortress. The inner ward is represented as impregnable. The provisions are, 3 great vats of salt eels, 44 kine, 3 hogsheds of salted salmon, 40 quarters of grain, besides many cows and 400 sheep lying under the castle walls nightly. But a great number of the arrows wanted feathers, and a good *fletcher* was required.

⁹ Lesley, 397. From an original letter, Dacre to Wolsey, 18 Feb. 1522, Cal. B. II, 280, it appears that Angus clandestinely passed from the English borders to Scotland on the 12th Feb. and that it was said he was to be sent to France. Though Lesley says Sir George Douglas was exiled with his brother, there is reason to infer the contrary, for he was in Scotland in Sept. 1523, O. Surrey to Wolsey, B. VI, 317: and that historian also errs in supposing that Angus remained only one year in France, whereas he did not return till July 1524, as is evident from many original letters to be quoted at that epoch.

1522 countered so firm an opposition, that they returned home with
 { little advantage or glory¹.

The emperor Charles V having visited Henry VIII in Eng-
 May land, an alliance was concluded between them against France:
 and the English monarch sent a herald to defy Francis; and soon
 after took an active share in the war, though his profusion had so
 much diminished his funds, that he was hardly able to support an
 army. Margaret, who was as inconstant in her affections as her
 brother Henry, now began to waver in her attachment towards
 Albany², whose French supplies were considerably drained;
 and her natural love of her country induced her to maintain a
 regular correspondence with Dacre, who by every art and pro-
 mise persuaded her to prefer the English cause. By spies, and
 secret messengers, she informed the English warden of every
 important step taken by the regent; who it must be confessed,
 at the same time, acted with remarkable deficiency of skill or
 precaution. Albany, who received all his chief instructions,
 particularly those of war or peace with England, from the
 French cabinet, as appears from many papers yet extant, seems
 at length to have been instigated to invade England, in order
 if possible to prevent Henry from sending an army to the con-
 tinent. The English monarch, informed of this intention,
 30 July issued a commission of lieutenant general, and admiral, against
 14 Aug. the Scots to the earl of Shrewsbury³: and soon after an order
 was given for proclamations of array, through the northern
 counties, as intelligence had been received that the Scots in-
 tended to invade England in the beginning of September⁴.

¹ Essl. 398. Holinshed, III, p. 1519, seems to date this event in 1523.

² O. Dacre to Wolfey, 15 June, B. I, 19: but Dacre cannot as yet refrain
 from mentioning "her lewd demeanour."

³ Rymer, XIII, 772. ⁴ Ibid. 773.

Yet it appears that various incursions, and one great inroad, ¹⁵²² had been previously made by the English: and a part of Kelso fell a prey to the flames of the invaders⁵.

Meanwhile a parliament had met at Edinburgh, on the eighteenth of July⁶, where it was concluded, by the desire of the regent and the queen, that the king, now in his eleventh year, should be removed to Stirling castle; and the earl of Ruthven and lord Borthwick being deprived of their charge, lord Erskine was left sole keeper of the sovereign's person. John lord Somerville was banished for his attachment to Angus:

⁵ Lessl. 399. Hall, 14 H8. The latter writer is right in naming Dacre as the leader, but errs in adding lord Ross, as the last of that title died in 1508. Dugd. Bar. In Cal. B. VI, 131—134, appears a correspondence between Thomas Hay the secretary and Dacre, beginning the 23d of June, wherein Shrewsbury is mentioned as lieutenant general. Hay desires that the English inroads may be forborne till the return of David Beton, the envoy sent from Scotland to London. Dacre answers that there can be no truce while Albany remains in Scotland. An original letter from Sir Philip Dacre to lord Dacre, 23 July [1522], Cal. B. VI, 421, mentions that an inroad had been made into Scotland—that the Scottish parliament met last Friday, and that Albany was determined to leave the country, if the states did not support his measures—that by Albany's command Arran had taken Somerville's house, (who was a partisan of Angus and Home), and turned his wife out of doors, though she was delivered but the day before—and it mentions the burning of Kelso, where lord Dacre, as was rumoured, had betrayed Percy and Ogle. Albany, in his memorial of January 1523, (see that date,) specially mentions a cruel inroad of the English, as having preceded his invasion.

This partial conflagration of Kelso must not therefore be confounded with that by Dacre in June 1523, when Albany was in France.

See in the Acts, edit. 1566, f. v. 112, the encouragements held out by Albany to the army raised against England. The parliament is of the 18th July 1522, though the acts only date from the 24th.

⁶ Letter of Sir Philip Dacre just quoted. In this parliament, as appears from the records, George lord Home was restored to his honours. Redpath, 509. But the estates were diminished, and the family is henceforth of little historical note.

1522 but the Homes, distrusting the regent, could not be prevailed upon to leave their fortresses. The national council, probably won by French gold, consented that Albany should march to invade England, on the second of September⁷. These proceedings being immediately conveyed to England, by the queen's letters to Dacre or by spies, occasioned the above mentioned proclamations of array. Yet Margaret persisted in
 30 Aug. endeavouring peace, and informed Dacre that she was disposed to listen to any plan for that purpose: nor was Albany averse, provided that the sole object of France could be accomplished⁸, namely her inclusion in the armistice; but this the English treaty with the emperor rendered impossible. Wolsey was enraged at this intended interruption of a Scottish invasion, given to his favourite war of private pique against Francis; and while he affected to despise Albany's presumption, in thus mediating between England and France, his spleen could not avoid branding his measures, and those of the queen, as full of "pride and presumption, mixed with craft and double dealing, after the Scottish manner⁹;" a reflection truly ludicrous, when it is considered that neither was a native of Scotland.
 31 Aug. In his answer to Margaret¹, Dacre says he has no power to conclude peace; but, knowing that Henry's inclinations were to avoid war if possible, he engages, if the queen to her lasting honour would mediate, to stop the English army: at the same time he replied to her credence by a secret letter², (which he

⁷ O. Sir P. Dacre to Dacre, and Dacre to Wolsey, 8 Aug. 1522, B. VI, 419. Dacre observes that Ruthven, Borthwick, and Erskine, had been appointed by the *first* parliament (Dec. 1521.) In 1515 the earl Marshall, and the lords Fleming and Borthwick, were the peers nominated.

⁸ O. Margaret to Dacre, Edinburgh, 30 Aug. B. VII, 144.

⁹ C. Wolsey to Dacre, no date, B. VI, 128.

¹ C. B. VII, 145.

² C. *ibid.*

requests may be instantly burnt, as if shewn his ruin would follow,) that, if James be lodged in secure hands, Henry would not insist on Albany's leaving Scotland; but would regard his presence no more than that of any other subject prince. Dacre likewise sent articles of pacification, to shew to Albany; who 3 Sept. answered³ that nothing but a truce could now be undertaken, the army being assembled; but that a more lasting treaty might be deliberated, by ambassadors to be sent to England, in virtue of a safe conduct now at Berwick for that purpose: that he desired peace, and would continue in that disposition, even though the succours which he expected from France should arrive, but that the allies must in all events be comprehended. The queen, on the same day, wrote to Dacre⁴, shewing some distrust of his sincerity, as he denied his express power to treat, while Sir Antony Ughtred captain of Berwick said he had; and she sent John Cantally⁵, a confidential servant, to know his real intentions. Dacre replied that he must insist upon a 6 Sept. special article for the security of James; and desired a respite of twelve days, that Henry's approbation of the articles might be obtained⁶.

This delay was not granted; and the chief articles of treaty on both sides being rejected, for the English the security of James from Albany's power, for the Scots the inclusion of France, the regent advanced his army to the English frontiers; and on the ninth of September it encamped at Annan⁷. This army was one of the most numerous, and best appointed, that Scotland had ever set forth: according to repeated dispatches of Wolsey and Dacre, it consisted of not less than eighty thou-

³ C. B. VII, 152.

⁴ O. *ibid.* 146.

⁵ A clergyman, as appears, and afterwards archdeacon of St. Andrew's. See 1524, 1525, notes.

⁶ C. Cal. B. VII, 148.

⁷ O. Albany to Dacre, Annan, 9 Sept. 1522, B. VII, 138.

1522 } land men, with forty-five large pieces of brass artillery, one thousand hagbuts mounted upon trestles, and a prodigious number of hand-guns: it was supplied with provisions even to superfluity⁸. A general terror pervaded the north of England; the English forces were warring in France; and Wolsey, in a letter to Henry⁹, observes that the capture of Carlisle, and the destruction of at least all Cumberland, seemed inevitable, as not above sixteen thousand men could have been there arrayed. The English lieutenant-general, the earl of Shrewsbury, in a dispatch to Henry, dated the eighth of September, shews a complete want of preparation; he mentions that, upon advice from Dacre that the Scots intended to assail the western marches, he had ordered the array to be in readiness, but that it exceeded not twenty thousand, and as no artillery nor money was sent even that number could not assemble: it being surmized that artillery could not pass Stanmore to Carlisle, he intended to invade Scotland on the east, and extend his ravages till he met Albany returning by the western marches: but he eagerly desires a remittance of money, without which nothing, as he observes, could be done. This want of preparation probably was the cause that Shrewsbury was, in the ensuing spring, deprived of his commission, which was transferred to Surrey, a far more able general: but Wolsey the minister was unpardonable; and shewed in this, and the various ignoble incidents of Henry's reign, the talents of a pedant in long declamatory letters, while neither in them, nor in his conduct, appears one spark of real ability. Yet the cardinal was fortunately opposed to Albany; who on this

⁸ C. Wolsey to Henry, B. VI, 242.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ O. B. III, 155. And see a letter of Sir Thomas More to Wolsey, conveying Henry's commands on the occasion, 14 Sept. B. I, 303. Yet Shrewsbury's bad health, VI, 242, was an excuse for his defective conduct.

occasion betrayed an imbecility beyond example or belief, and ¹⁵²² justly received from Wolsey the liberal appellations of coward and fool²; when, upon one interview with Dacre, he consented to dismiss this grand and spirited army, and to sacrifice an occasion never to be recalled. Nor did he thereby secure any terms to France, which had enabled him to raise and provide his large array, nor even to Scotland, or himself; but was left to bewail, in complete confusion and anguish, an unhappy day of an infatuation only known to the weakest of men.

The narration of the Scottish historians, concerning dissensions in his army, is somewhat shaken by the absolute silence of the numerous contemporary dispatches³; not to mention his previous pusillanimous correspondence with Dacre. The English party was annihilated by the absence of Angus: the queen, as she confesses, had no influence: the nobles, seduced by French gold, were warmly attached to the regent, and the war: the army's affection was secured, not only by exuberance of provisions and warlike ammunition, and perhaps supplies of money, but by concessions of freedom from ward to the sons and daughters of the slain, and a gift for five years of such possessions as were only for life⁴. The singular negotiation with Dacre, which terminated this inglorious expedition, remains to be narrated; and as almost every original scrap of paper, which passed on the subject between him and Albany,

² C. Wolsey to Henry, B. VI, 242.

³ Those written on the instant are only meant; for in the instructions to Clarenceux, 12 Nov. 1522, B. VI, 254, it is observed that the Scottish lords told Dacre at Salom, "that for no love, favour, desire, or fair promises, of the French king, they would in any wise attempt war against England, nor invade the same, so they might be sure to have peace of Henry." Yet this is equivocal, as they supported Albany's regency, the sole ground of the war.

⁴ Less. 400.

1522 is extant, the account is capable of extreme accuracy, and even minuteness.

Dacre had continued the above mentioned epistolary intercourse with the queen, who remained at Edinburgh, and even with Albany on his march. On the seventh of September he 7 Sept. sent to the latter the safe conduct for an envoy⁵: and Cantally, the queen's servant, was dispatched by Albany to Dacre on the eighth, with a stern letter⁶, accusing the English warden of dissimulation; of retaining Carrick herald, though sent for peace; and of sending one of his servants into the midst of the Scottish camp, who deserved death as he had no badge of truce; but the regent adds that, if Dacre be so desirous of peace, he has only to send his powers and articles by the bearer. Dacre however would not advance from Carlisle to the river Esk, to meet Cantally, as the latter proposed, the Scottish army being near, but sent him a safe conduct to Carlisle⁷: on which he returned to consult Albany, who remitted him from Annan, on the ninth, with a letter⁸, promising that if Dacre sent him back with a favourable answer, for the queen's honour, the regent would listen, and pardon the warden's faults, "though his honour was fled." Dacre desiring dispatches in the Scottish language, as he did not understand French⁹, Cantally again went to the Scottish camp, and returned, when the actual treaty commenced. Dacre, by his letter from Carlisle, dated on the ninth of September at eleven o'clock at night¹, answers the charges of Albany thus; that the Carrick herald had opened English letters sent to Berwick, and was seized, but soon set at liberty; that Dacre's servant

⁵ B. VII, 137.

⁶ Ibid. 138.

⁷ O. Dacre to Cantally, 8 Sept. ib. 137. Cantally to Dacre, 151.

⁸ VII, 138.

⁹ Ibid. 139.

¹ Ibid. 140.

was

was no spy, but carried the safe conduct sent by Henry at his sister's desire, and bore, if not a badge of truce, the cognifance of St. George, and Dacre's badge on his jacket, both before and behind: to Albany's angry attack on his character he makes no reply; but seeing the regent's desire of a month's truce, that embassadors might be sent to England for peace, he proceeds to state that he has no commission to that effect, yet he adds, "I am content to stop my sovereign lord's army, now raising and approaching the borders, and grant you your desire of one month's abstinence." He concludes with promising, as warden, that all inroads shall be stopped; and that he shall send, on safe conduct, Sir Christopher Dacre, his brother, as an hostage for the performance of the terms. Albany, in return, on the tenth, demanded a personal conference; and Dacre consenting to meet at seven in the ensuing morning, the regent, in a letter² dated Salom chapel at nine o'clock in the night, transmits a safe conduct, from sunrise till sunset in the following day, while lord Maxwell was to be sent as an hostage for the warden's safety. The meeting accordingly took place: and the instrument of truce is of the following purport³. It bears that, at the desire of the queen, and "also"⁴ at the desire of Albany, Dacre had come to the chapel of Salom; yet this being a mere preamble, the tenor of the agreement runs in the name of Albany, with the advice of the lords of the council, and Dacre: the

² B. VII, 141. Salom, or Solom, chapel, appears to have been near Gretna, now the scene of treaties of a different description. It was near Solam moss, the old name of Solway-moss, in Pont's maps.

³ Ibid. 142.

⁴ This *disjunctive connective* is emphatic. Our historians absurdly suppose that the queen was with the army: she remained at Edinburgh; and the truce was negotiated, and signed, solely by Albany and Dacre.

1522 } latter, as warden, grants a truce upon all the borders, for one month; all hostilities are to cease, and Dacre is to stop the advance of the English army, and to yield his brother Sir Christopher Dacre as an hostage to that effect: the queen is to be desired to intercede with Henry for another month's abstinence, that the embassadors, to be sent from Scotland on the safe conduct transmitted, may prepare for their journey. By a separate minute, signed at the same time⁵, Albany engages immediately to dismiss his army; which was done accordingly.

Such was this noted transaction⁶, compared to which the "foul raid" of Robert duke of Albany, in the reign of James I, was glorious. After immense preparation and expence, no purpose was effected, which might not have been obtained previously to the array. The regent had only shewn, in a grand theatre, that he was the heir of that pusillanimity common to his predecessors in the title of Albany. Yet the shades of those slain at Flodden perhaps fluttered around him, and his army, and spread a panic against any engagement on English ground. It appears from all the writings, that Dacre used the terror of an approaching host to daunt the regent; and from repeated examples in this reign of James V, it is evident that the Scottish leaders were averse to enter England; and, following the advice of Robert I, esteemed a defensive war safest, and most effectual.

27 Sept. Soon after his return to Edinburgh, the regent dispatched Jehan de Barboun, as his envoy to Henry and Wolsey, with instructions⁷ to desire a truce till midsummer next year, and

⁵ B. VII, 150.

⁶ Wolsey, in a letter to Henry, B. VI, 242, with his accustomed pedantry calls it *Operatio Dextræ Eccelsi*; he speaks of Albany's folly and cowardice, and says that his sole motive was mere fear, *ubi non erat timor*.

⁷ C. B. VI, 269.

that

that France might be comprehended: but the last article being absolutely refused, he was ordered by Albany to return with all speed⁸. During this time the queen continued her mediation with Dacre. Shrewsbury was sick, and the approaching winter forbade an invasion of Scotland; which was also esteemed unnecessary, as the Scottish peers were believed to be inclined to peace, and willing to give hostages for the safety of James, who was to be committed to the keeping of some independent lords, provided that Albany were allowed to remain in Scotland; an article not much opposed by the English minister, as, by sowing division, he hoped soon to force the regent to resign⁹.

Albany, stung with the disgraceful consequences of his late infatuation, resolved to sail to France, in order to explain and palliate his conduct, to represent the indisposition of the Scots to the war; and to solicit supplies of money and warlike stores, and especially some troops who might, by their example, stimulate the Scots to exertion. He accordingly embarked at Dunbarton, on the twenty-fifth of October, on a galley with oars, attended only by another vessel of the same description; having appointed the chancellor, Huntley, Argyle, Arran, and Gouzolles, a French officer, as a council of regency, under oath to attempt nothing against his own authority¹. He engaged, on pain of losing his regency, to return before Assumption day, or the fifteenth of August, in the following year². To lord Erskine, a peer of simple character, was joined a foreigner

⁸ C. Albany to Barboun, 17 Oct. *ibid.* 274.

⁹ C. Wolsey to Henry, B. VI, 242.

¹ O. Dacre to Wolsey, 31 Oct. 1522, B. II, 272. This letter dates the departure of Albany *about* the 24th Oct. Buch. XIV, 16, gives the positive date of the 25th. The galleys with oars are in the original styled *row galleys*.

² Dacre to Wolsey, just quoted.

1522 } Gouzolles denominated captain of Milan, but a special adherent of Albany, who was to share the custody of the young king, and, with a guard of thirty-three Frenchmen, was also to attend the queen³. These offices, assigned to a foreigner, only shew that experience had not taught Albany to avoid the grossest imprudence.

12 Nov. The English court, learning the departure of Albany, dispatched Benolt, the Clarenceux herald, to examine, with his usual ability, the state of Scotland. His instructions⁴ bore that he was to applaud the queen, in Henry's name, for the truce, to which he had only consented by her mediation; to discover if Margaret and the peers inclined to war or peace; and to advise them as they must now see, from Albany's abrupt departure, that he had only been sent from France to disturb the public tranquillity, to embrace "the profitable advice of England, and forsake the perilous enchantments of France:" he was to represent that Henry regarded the war as unnatural, the Scottish king being a minor and his nephew; that, while France was only liberal of promises, a peace would open to Scotland the advantages of commerce with England, and her allies: and the herald was to offer a truce till the end of February, provided that the Scottish peers would promise to send an embassy for peace. Wolsey also instructed Clarenceux loudly to reprobate the haughty expressions used by Albany to Henry, in order as appears to excite the hatred of the Scots against the regent's pride; and the cardinal even sketched the

³ Ibid. Though Dacre in this letter, from imperfect information, seem to mention Gouzolles and the captain of Milan as distinct persons, it appears from the correspondence of Nov. 1523, B. I, 279, 309, &c. that the latter was only a designation of the former. Concerning him no extraneous information has occurred.

⁴ Cal. B. VI, 254. See also Remembrances for Clarenceux, Wolsey's hand, VI, 265.

speech,

speech, which the herald was to pronounce to the Scottish peers⁵. 1522

Albany, being informed of the arrival and residence of the English herald in Scotland, and dreading the influence which he might exert against his power and designs, sent George Hay to Wolsey, with instructions⁶ dated at Vic, probably the town of that name in his wife's county of Auvergne. 1523
 The regent represented that he had always inclined to peace, and only had recourse to arms after a cruel invasion of Scotland, and even then consented to a truce, though England was quite unprepared: that the proposals of Henry ought not to have been sent to the Scottish peers, but to him, as regent, who would never consent that Scotland should abandon France, even upon the terms offered by Henry; which, as reported to him, were that, on condition of this dereliction, of a truce of sixteen years with England, and the exile of Albany, Berwick and all the lands claimable by Scotland should be rendered; and a marriage appointed between James and Mary the daughter of the English king; while, on refusal, cruel and lasting war was threatened. The regent further stated that the only way to peace was to address him; that, though forced to visit France on account of his wife's illness, he had left full powers to treat; that he could not repress his rage, on learning that England endeavoured to intimidate the Scots in his absence, and that, if war were unavoidable, their allies would defend them, though peace were to be wished for the good of christendom assailed by the infidels; lastly he desires a quick and immediate answer, with strict secrecy, as his present residence might render the intercourse suspicious, though it was only known to the papal legate in France, the abbot of Glenluce, and the

⁵ Remembrances, *ibid.*

⁶ O. Cal. B. VI, 240.

bearer.

1523 bearer. The council of regency, probably instructed by Al-
 21 Jan. bany, gave an answer to Clarenceux, signed by Thomas Hay
 their secretary⁷, bearing in vague terms that the treaty of
 Salom had been fulfilled on their part; and desiring complete
 information of the terms offered by England, if the French
 alliance were abandoned. No serious treaty was intended,
 their sole object being to procrastinate: and the liberal offers
 mentioned by Albany, not appearing in any instructions to
 Clarenceux which have reached us, seem to have been oral
 promises, meant to amuse and decoy.

Henry, finding the negotiation very precarious, issued a
 26 Feb. commission of lieutenant-general against the Scots to Thomas
 Howard earl of Surrey⁸, son of the victor at Flodden now
 duke of Norfolk, and of a name terrible to Scotland. Over
 the western frontiers Dacre presided with his usual ability;
 while the marquis of Dorset was appointed warden of the
 eastern marches. Surrey was empowered not only to manage
 war, but to extend the negotiations, as long as any hope of
 success remained.

Nevertheless some incursions were made by the English;
 and one, in particular, of considerable importance, into the
 2 April Merse and Tividale. Buchanan informs us that Surrey, at
 the head of ten thousand men, ravaged these provinces, with
 a destruction which equally levelled the turreted castle of the
 baron, and the straw-built hut of the labourer⁹.

On his return to Berwick Surrey sent to Wolsey an account
 of his expedition by a messenger, whom he also charged with

⁷ Cal. B. VIII, 96. ⁸ Rymer, XIII, 781.

⁹ Buch. XIV, 17. Hall, f. 106, fixes the date of this invasion to the day
 before good-friday, which in 1523 was the 3d of April. He says Dorset and
 others led the expedition, by Surrey's command: and that 4000 cattle were
 seized by the English.

instructions for the cardinal and council. The messenger is ¹⁵²³ desired to narrate every circumstance of the late inroad into Tividale, to shew the bad state of the cavalry, and the want of forage in Northumberland, the deficiency of carriages for provisions, and of horses to draw the artillery. If an important invasion be intended, the English general desires that four thousand Germans be demanded from their ally the emperor, so that instead of thirty thousand English, he may have but twenty two thousand, with four thousand Germans to be shipped from Flanders to Berwick; for, should Albany bring any foreign power, an invasion of Scotland must be attended with a battle, and the foreign pikes could only be encountered by pikes; while the English array, not accustomed to the order of battle, might learn from the example of the Germans¹.

The inroads were mutually continued for some months. Dacre again led his bands against Kelso; and gave to the flames what remains of that unfortunate town his devastation of the former year had spared. Even the abbey was injured; and many villages beyond Kelso were levelled with the ground: while eight hundred French, sent by Albany, remained in a dastardly security at Edinburgh². In an incursion from Berwick, two other villages were destroyed: and lord Leonard Gray, advancing from Werk, defeated a party of the Scots by ambuscade³.

Yet

¹ O. Instructions Surrey to Nicholas Hervey, B. VI, 238.

² C. Dacre to Surrey, 3 July, B. VI, 324.

³ O. Surrey to Wolsey, York 3 July, *ibid.* 323. Surrey says that Scotland was formerly only *japed* (scolded), but now punished: he requires eight lasts of gunpowder: he demands more ships, as captain Coo was to put to sea on Monday: and he mentions some Danes taken in the Janet of Pirwyn (a Scottish vessel?)—Christiern, the deposed king of Denmark, visited England in June this year. Herbert's Henry VIII, p. 140.

The

1523

Aug.

Yet the negotiations, conducted by the queen and Surrey, became more and more important in their progress. It was proposed to place the young king solemnly on the throne, and to terminate the regency by proclaiming his actual exercise of power; while the queen, with a chosen council, should manage the public affairs. This flattering proposal induced Margaret to abandon the French interest, which she had never cordially embraced; and being treated with great attention by her brother, since the truce procured by her mediation, she again warmly attached herself to the English cause, which displayed to her such superior advantages. She regrets, in a letter to Surrey⁴, the blindness of the peers, who were enslaved to Albany by fear, by gifts, and expectations of benefices and French gold; but she doubts not their accession to her plan, if supported by Henry: her son she represents as a boy of generous affections, and eminent ability for his age⁵: she wishes to be free, and if Surrey cannot assist her she begs a reception in England: she hates the French, and Albany who for three months past has withdrawn her pension, so that she is in extreme poverty, and must sell her plate, if no supply be sent. 24 Aug. Surrey, in his answer⁶, promised every support, if the lords would agree to erect the throne of James; and as a Scottish parliament was speedily to meet, its determination was awaited. Henry, impatient of the delay, sent to Surrey mandates for many of the northern lords and gentlemen to join him, in an expedition against Jedburgh; but the general could not ac-

The ravages of Scotland were such that the frontiers were left a mere desert, and their inhabitants forced to beg bread in England. Wolsey's letter of 31 Aug, 1523, in Fiddes, App. p. 137. ⁴ C. Cal. B. II, 29.

⁵ There is not, says the queen, in the world a wiser child, or a better hearted, or a more able. Surrey observes to Wolsey, (12 Sept. 1523, B. VI, 318,) that James "speaks *sure* for so young a thing."

⁶ C. Cal. B. II, 31.

complish

compleish that order for some time, as he informs Wolsey ⁷, 1523
 having neither powder, shot, nor carts; and the light of the ^{27 Aug.}
 moon, now four days in the wane, would not suffice for an
 army to remain two or three nights in Scotland, till twenty
 days thereafter; when likewise the enemy's wheat, rye, and
 barley would be inned, and could be consumed at once; not
 to mention his expectation of the meeting of a Scottish parlia-
 ment, which might render the expedition unnecessary. Mean-
 while the negotiation proceeded, but with little hope of suc-
 cess; for Surrey soon after communicated to the cardinal ⁸ his ^{12 Sept.}
 intention of an invasion, and even of laying waste the Scottish
 border to the breadth of twelve miles, and forming such an
 arrangement that it should ever remain desert; as though the
 Scottish merchants and commons execrated Albany and his
 faction, and warmly desired peace with England, the peers
 were so much attached to him by his gifts, that their concur-
 rence with the English plan could not be expected. The ^{13 Sep.}
 queen nevertheless pressed the affair ⁹, knowing the danger if
 it were not effected before the arrival of Albany, now daily
 expected: she desires that every effort be exerted to detach the

⁷ O. *ibid.* 27.

⁸ O. B. VI, 318.

⁹ O. Margaret to Surrey, B. II, 228.

The letters published at the end of Hearne's *Otterbourne*, extend from Sept. 1523 to July 1524: but are of no importance, when compared with those in manuscript.

Guthrie has also a few extracts from original letters of these memorable years, 1523 and 1524, Vol. V, 63—66, 68, 73. They are taken from Fiddes's *Life of Wolsey*, 1724, folio, who drew them from the transcripts made by Mr. Masters, from those in the Cotton and other libraries. Masters assisted lord Herbert, in compiling materials for his well authenticated life of Henry VIII: and his collection is preserved in the library of Jesus College, Oxford. Cat. ms. Angl. N^o 2096—2099.

The opulence of original correspondence, for these two years, surprizes, and embarrasses, an historian.

1523 } chancellor from the regent, and to gain him, Gawin Dunbar
 } bishop of Aberdeen, lord register and preceptor to the king,
 and the earl of Argyle, they being the most able and powerful,
 14 Sept. and the will of the others deserving no consideration. Surrey
 declared to Wolsey¹ his intention to invade Scotland within
 eight days; and, after destroying Jedburgh and Tividale, to
 advance to Home castle, and thence into the Merse to ravage
 and ruin the forts, if the provision for the army will suffice so
 long: but he desires to know if the latter progress be adviseable,
 when perhaps the Homes, and Sir George Douglas, (who had
 been permitted to remain in Scotland, while his brothers,
 Angus and William, were exiled,) might accede to the Eng-
 lish cause: he also requests instructions, in case James went
 to Edinburgh, and assumed the sceptre, when the queen might
 entreat him not to injure her son's dominions. Sir Thomas
 More remitted Henry's orders to Wolsey², to be forwarded to
 Surrey, that the Homes and Douglas might be received on
 giving hostages; on the other matters much is left to his dis-
 cretion, but it is desired that Bourbon's declaration against the
 French king be sent to the queen, in order to evince the ruin-
 ous condition of France. It is curious to observe Wolsey, on
 the day after Albany's arrival had quashed the whole scheme,
 writing to Surrey³ that Albany would never dare to repair to
 Scotland; and offering every assistance and reward to the queen
 and the lords, and a reception in England to the former if she
 19 Sept. failed. Meantime the queen informed Surrey⁴ of her fixed
 design to proceed to Edinburgh with her son, in expectation
 that, upon his open assumption of the power, a sufficient party

¹ O. B. VI, 317.

² O. Sir Thomas More to Wolsey, 22 Sept. 1523, Cal. B. VI, 439.

³ O. Wolsey to Surrey, 25 Sept. 1523, B. VI, 455.

⁴ C. B. VI, 293.

would

would appear to support their king; though the Scottish peers ¹⁵²³ derided Surrey's invasion, as only an injury to the borders, which they could easily retaliate, "for the lords regard not the disasters of the poor, but laugh at them:" she advises Surrey to secure the authority of James, by advancing to Edinburgh: and at the same time betrays such despair of success as to express the warmest wishes of leaving Scotland, even by stealth. Surrey saw this letter in its true light, and sent it to ^{21 Sep.} the cardinal, observing that the queen had no credit with the lords, and only desired Surrey's aid in escaping from Scotland before Albany came, his arrival being hourly expected; that it was impossible, through the want of carriages for provision, to advance to Edinburgh, though he might perhaps to Melrose, if no great power opposed; for, though joined by Dacre and his three thousand, his army only amounted to nine thousand. But he declares his intention of invading Scotland on the morrow, and advancing towards Jedburgh.

This important negotiation is thus minutely stated, because unknown to former writers, who only narrate its success after Albany's departure, in the following year. But a more active scene now opens, in Surrey's invasion of Scotland, the arrival of Albany, and his second disgraceful expedition against England.

Surrey's detail of his expedition, conveyed in a dispatch to Wolsey⁵, shall be exactly followed in the account of this event. The English advanced from Berwick to Jedburgh, amid constant skirmishes with the Scots; "I assure your grace," says Surrey to the cardinal, "that I found the Scots at this time the boldest men, and the most ardent, that ever I beheld of

⁵ O. Surrey to Wolsey, 21 Sept. B. VI, 292.

⁶ O. Same to same, 27 Sept. B. II, 24, a long and important letter.

1523 any nation⁷;" their conflicts were perpetual, though they
 amounted only to about fifteen hundred, hastily gathered by
 the border chieftains, against an army of nine thousand, al-
 most entirely cavalry; and were forty thousand such valiant
 men assembled, proceeds the English general, dreadful would
 be the encounter. But all their efforts could not prevent the
 pillage of Tividale, and the conflagration of the fair town of
 Jedburgh, containing at that time twice as many houses as
 Berwick, many of them of beautiful architecture; it was de-
 fended by six strong towers, and was capable of receiving a
 garrison of one thousand cavalry. Sir William Bulmer and
 Sir Thomas Tempest conducted the strong detachment, which
 24 Sept. captured the town, and gave it completely to the flames, so
 that a reedification was necessary before it could be inhabited.
 But this achievement was followed by an unexpected and
 strange disaster, on the side of the English. Their camp was
 surrounded with the provision waggons, and a ditch: but while
 Surrey was engaged in the assault of the abbey, which lasted
 till two hours after night fell, Dacre had, for some unknown
 cause, stationed his cavalry without the precinct of the camp.
 25 Sept. Next day Surrey sent Dacre to attack the castle of Fernihurst,
 along with Sir Arthur Darcy and Sir Marmaduke Constable;
 but that hold being surrounded with a wood was well defended,
 and before it yielded, many on both sides were slain and
 wounded. On his return Dacre resumed his former station on
 the outside of the camp; and about eight o'clock, while he sat
 at supper with Surrey, the horses of his cavalry broke loose;
 and, running around the camp, spread an universal alarm, as
 it was supposed the Scots were assaulting the entrenchments;

⁷ "I assure your grace I found the Scotts, at this time, the boldest men,
 and the hottest, that ever I sawe any nacion." The praise from Surrey is great,
 as he had often been employed on severe foreign service.

and

and many guns, and not less than an hundred sheaves of arrows were discharged at them. Of fifteen hundred horses, ¹⁵²³ thus running wild, not seven hundred were saved: about five hundred were shot, or wandered in divers directions; two hundred and fifty ran into Jedburgh, still in flames, where they were seized and carried off by Scottish women; fifty plunged to death down a precipice. It is risible to find Surrey an honest and credulous soldier, seriously imputing this disaster to dæmons. He affirms that Dacre, and all his men, beheld "spirits and fearful signs" six times that night; and that the whole array believe that the infernal prince was six times among them. It was apparently a stratagem of the Scots, as their women were ready to seize what horses they could; nor is such a stratagem against cavalry, unknown in a former period of Scottish history⁸.

After dispatching his envoy to Wolsey with an account of this expedition, Surrey was, on the same day, surprized with the intelligence that Albany had arrived in Scotland on the twenty fourth of September, the fatal day of Jedburgh⁹.

The queen had thus arranged her above mentioned scheme of seizing the regency, on pretence of placing her son on the throne: the young king was to go to the tolbooth of Edinburgh, as from his own will, and to chuse a council, for many wished his freedom, though none had the boldness to attempt it¹; some peers around him enquiring what he would do with several Frenchmen, whom Albany had left, he answered with a sarcasm that he would give them to David Home's keeping². But the parliament having met, Gaultier

⁸ In 1377. Fordun, II, 385.

⁹ O. Surrey to Wolsey, 27 Sept. B. VI, 313.

¹ O. Christopher Throlkeld to Dacre, or in his absence to Surrey, (Sept. 1523,) Cal. B. VII, 9.

² Ibid. David Home slew De la Bastie.

1523 Malignes and Thomas Hay produced letters from Albany, desiring that the king might remain at Stirling, as he had shipped in Picardy on his voyage, and De la Pole, a pretender to the English throne, was to follow him³. Upon which intelligence the lords commanded Erskine to withdraw from his charge, and surrender the custody of the king to Cassils and Fleming, the bishop of Galloway and the abbot of Cambuskenneth, with a mandate that he be permitted to ride at his pleasure, on condition that he returned to Stirling at night, a liberty esteemed hazardous by the French ambassador⁴. A few days after this transaction Albany arrived in the firth of Clyde⁵, with a fleet of eighty seven small vessels, conducting, by the lowest computation, four thousand French infantry,

³ Ibid. In a catalogue of Scottish writings, Harl. 4637, Vol. III, (a curious and important volume,) fol. 81, is mentioned an obligation by Richard De la Pole, duke of Suffolk, to James V, and Albany, dated 15 July 1523.

⁴ Throlkeld's letter above quoted. The prioress of Coldstream, and one Trotter, are named as spies: but who could disdain the office, while Margaret herself was a continual spy? In her instructions to Sinclair, Oct. 1523, B. VI, 287, she engages to advertise Surrey, as before, of all things good or evil, to use her own expressions.

⁵ The connection of the narrative has occasioned the omission of some minute particulars, which shall be thrown into this note. Henry, understanding Albany's intention to return to Scotland, sent Sir William Fitzwilliams with thirty six large ships, to watch the French shores; while Antony Pointz with a squadron cruized in the western seas, and Sherborn in the northern. In August Fitzwilliams discovered twelve French ships, aboard of which were Gawin Dunbar archbishop of Glasgow, and other persons of rank: these vessels being pursued returned to France, and two were lost. Albany upon this ordered his stores to be relanded, and spread a report that his voyage was deferred till the next spring. Fitzwilliams being deceived returned to port, and Albany's arrival was wholly unexpected by the English. See an original letter from Wolsey to the ambassador at the emperor's court, dated 31 Aug. 1523, from the Yelverton papers, in the appendix to Fiddes's Wolsey, p. 137, Herbert's Henry VIII, p. 138. Hall's Chronicle, 15 H. 8.

one hundred men at arms with their attendants, and eighty ¹⁵²³ barded cavalry: accompanied with twenty large cannons, and four double cannons, many *pavafies*, a sort of artillery mounted on a car of two wheels, and armed with two large swords before; of small artillery and powder the supply was plenteous; and twelve of the vessels were laden with victuals and wine⁶. A promise was added of three thousand Swiss instantly to follow⁷: and nothing was wanted except a general.

The tide of French gold, which flowed on the regent's arrival, again set on float in his favour the hesitating resolutions of most of the peers. The others were struck with consternation, on beholding his sumptuous preparations, and the pomp of war which shone around his person, though they knew that the lion's formidable garb only arrayed a deer. The queen, conscious of her conduct, was seized with dismay, and earnestly desired to be received into England⁸: but this step was opposed by Wolsey and Surrey, as half the sum required for her maintenance in that opulent country would afford a rich supply if she remained in Scotland⁹. Albany acted towards her with

⁶ C. Lord Ogle to Surrey, Sept. 1523, Cal. B. III, 58. O. Margaret to Surrey, B. VI, 380. O. Surrey to Wolsey, VI, 284. The first report was that Albany had brought 8000 French; and that De la Pole was following, with thirty ships, to assert his title to the English throne: Surrey's letter, 27 Sept. Richard de la Pole was the brother of Edmund, beheaded in 1513; and claimed the crown as the son of a sister of Edward IV.

⁷ Margaret calls them Germans, B. VI, 380.

⁸ O. Margaret to Surrey, B. VI, 380: she has recourse to her repeated argument, that she has pledged her cupboard of plate, and has nothing "to find her meat:" she must have supplies from England, else Albany will induce her to join the French interest.

⁹ O. Wolsey to Surrey, 7 Oct. B. VI, 452. He speaks of sending a hundred pounds or two; miserable conduct of the avaricious Wolsey towards the sister of his sovereign, who had now only about 1000*l.* Scottish, 250*l.* sterling, of yearly revenue. B. VI, 287.

politeness;

1523 politeness; but ordered twelve Scottish archers of the royal guard of France, sent by Francis for that purpose, to attend James; an apparent honour, a real servitude¹.

As the foreign troops would soon exhaust their provisions, and the Scots were little disposed to support the expence of their maintenance, the regent's first care was to lead them into actual service: and, by the consent of the parliament, a beg. Oct. proclamation of array was issued, commanding all capable of arms to assemble within two miles of Edinburgh, on the twentieth of October, with provisions for twenty days². The burghs were ordered to furnish carriages for seventeen days, a circumstance which increased, if possible, their detestation of the regent³. Yet the queen informs Surrey that never were the Scots, exasperated by the destruction of Jedburgh, so firmly united and determined against England⁴. Albany, now at Glasgow, attended by the chief peers, ordered a display of his foreign troops and artillery; spoke of Flodden and their fathers, and the disgrace and injuries which Scotland had been doomed to receive from one English nobleman, and his son: the peers fell on their knees, and promised the strictest obedience to his commands⁵. Arran now ruled Tividale the Merse, Lothian, Linlithgow, and Stirlingshire: Huntley the northern counties: Lennox and Argyle the western: all promised their firmest aid⁶. The foreign troops, so completely accoutred for war, increased the confidence of the regent, who

¹ C. Instructions Margaret to Sinclair, Oct. 1523. B. VI, 287. O. Surrey to Wolsey, 10 Oct. ib. 283.

² O. Surrey to Wolsey, about 12th Oct. B. VI, 284. The place of meeting was probably the usual spot, the Burrow-muir.

³ O. Margaret to Surrey, Oct. B. VI, 380.

⁴ O. Same to same, Tuesday, 5 Oct. ib. 379.

⁵ O. Sir W. Eure to Surrey, 19 Oct. B. III, 57.

⁶ O. Margaret to Surrey, Oct. VI, 379.

seemed

seemed anxious to atone, by some glorious action, for the un-¹⁵²³exampled disgrace of his former campaign: and the nation anxiously expected a signal revenge for the defeat of Flodden, and the recent conflagrations.

On the other hand the English general, informed of all these transactions by innumerable spies, particularly the prioresses of Coldingham and Eccles, and a relation of lord Borthwick whose name is unknown⁷, ordered every preparation to be made to repel this formidable invasion. Berwick had been put into a strong state of defence by Henry VII, but had since fallen into much neglect: it was a mile and three quarters in circumference; and would have required a garrison of six thousand, instead of the small number allotted: a pestilence now raged in the town; there were two great breaches in the wall, to the extent of eighty feet; and its defence Surrey represents as impracticable, for Albany might raise thirty thousand valiant men of Tividale, and other southern counties, and make a sudden attack, while Northumberland could hardly muster two thousand five hundred: the sole hope was that, as the moon had waned three days, Albany would not advance, contrary to the practice of the times⁸. Surrey directed that Norham should be repaired, so as to be capable of maintaining a defence for at least eight days. Wark attracted his next attention: the dungeon or main tower was so strong, that it might have stood a siege of ten days, while the outer walls could not have resisted for two⁹. All the corn was withdrawn from the English borders: the fords of the river Till, and other streams, were deranged by damming, and other me-

⁷ O. Sir William Bulmer to the lord treasurer, B. VI, 429. Lord Borthwick had promised to inform this spy of every transaction, and that he would enable him to escape from the army with complete information: *ibid.*

⁸ O. Surrey to Wolsey, 27 Sept. B. VI, 313.

⁹ *Ibid.*

1523 thods¹. To weaken Albany's influence, letters were sent to
 { the queen, and the peers of Scotland, in which his attempt to
 mediate between England and France was treated with su-
 preme contempt, as the mere presumption of folly; an insult
 20 Oct. which stung the passionate regent to the soul². Surrey began
 to collect his army, and had requested Wolsey that some nobles
 of the south might be sent, and some of the youthful peers, if
 they would leave their attendance on court, their dances, dice,
 and cards, to adorn by their presence the probable theatre of a
 great battle³. The marquis of Dorset accordingly joined him
 23 Oct. at Newcastle, with the gentlemen of the king's household:
 while Northumberland, Clifford, Latimer, Darcy, Scrope,
 added the whole power of their vassalage⁴. But want of pro-
 visions prevented the English leader from marching to the
 north; and Albany, knowing that scarcity, lingered, in the
 hopes that it would increase, and disperse the enemy without
 effusion of blood⁵. England expected a sanguinary contest,
 and disdained not to mingle apprehensions with her hope: but
 the letters of Wolsey to Surrey, during this crisis, now excite
 only a smile, while we observe the pedantic cardinal, in epistles
 of seven or eight leaves, divided into heads like sermons, in-
 structing one of the most able generals of his age in the art of
 war, and in the management of a campaign. His pride uni-
 formly blends the king's orders, and opinions, with his own;

¹ Surrey to Wolsey, B. VI, 284.

² Ibid. C. Surrey to the Scottish peers, directed to the chancellor, Huntley, Argyle, Arran, Lennox, and to all other nobles of Scotland, B. VI, 307; "the presumptuous folly of the duke, to think that so light a personage as he," &c.

³ O. Surrey to Wolsey, 8 Oct. 1523, B. VI, 315.

⁴ O. Same to same, 23 Oct. B. VI, 289. He pathetically requests Wolsey to be beneficent to his children, if he fall in the battle, for his estate is exhausted in the king's service.

⁵ O. Surrey to Henry, B. VI, 306.

while

while Surrey professes equal attention to both ⁶. The cardinal ¹⁵²³ affected to represent the invasion as impossible, as "it is not unknown that king James, whom your father and you slew, was a man of great courage, well-beloved, and in great estimation among his subjects," yet it was difficult even for him, with all his long provided treasures, to instigate such an enterprise, even at the proper season; far less for Albany, a man of known pusillanimity, and eminent imprudence, at such a time of the year ⁷. With more wisdom he desires that no truce be granted, if required by the regent; as this favour might tend to reconcile the Scots to his presence, by his redeeming them from the calamities of war; while England could allow of no terms, except the exile of Albany, and the solemn assumption of the power by James ⁸.

Surrey, learning that Albany's host was assembled, and prepared to march, detached the Marquis of Dorset to Alnwick, and Darcy to Bamborough, with about nine thousand men, besides the array of Northumberland; and, if Albany directed his attack to Berwick, they had orders to garrison the town with all their division ⁹. He himself advanced on the 26 Oct. same route towards Belford: while Dorset proceeded with his van of seven thousand, and garrisoned Berwick ¹. The whole army appears to have amounted to about fifty thousand, and was eager to invade Scotland; but Henry's orders to the general bore that he should advance no further than the banner

⁶ O. Wolsey to Surrey, 12 Oct. B. VI, 321, &c: "the kyng's and mine opinion."

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ O. Same to same, 23 Oct. a dispatch of seven leaves, Cal. B. VI, 295. Surrey had required that the posts should be ordered to pass from London to Newcastle in eighteen hours, which, he adds, they may easily do. B. VI, 315: (the beginning of the letter is ever referred to.)

⁹ O. Surrey to Wolsey, 26 Oct. B. VI, 310.

¹ O. Same to same, 28 Oct. B. II, 23.

1523 of St. Cuthbert was accustomed, and this sacred standard was probably only a defensive signal². Surrey remained at Belford, till Albany should enter the English territory.

The Scottish host assembled at the usual place, the Burrow-muir near Edinburgh, to the amount of sixty thousand men: and the regent slowly conducted their march to Melrose, retarded by cumbersome artillery, and by roads rendered deep 28 Oct. and difficult by recent falls of snow and rain³. Here they erected their tents of boughs and straw; and on the second day proceeding down the Tweed they arrived at Eccles, on the side of the river opposite to Wark, where they encamped; while Albany lodged in the adjoining castle of Home, and ordered part of the artillery to proceed towards Berwick: after which, to the surprize of the army, he commenced the siege of Wark⁴.

The celebrated Buchanan was in the Scottish army at this time, and thus describes this noted fortress. "In the inner-

² O. Surrey to Henry, B. VI, 306.

³ O. Surrey to Wolsey, 28 Oct. B. II, 23. In the above letter to Henry, B. VI, 306, dated at Belford; about 30 Oct. Surrey observes that Albany's army had been, since tuesday sevensnight, on the south of Edinburgh; and, for eight days, within 12, 10, 4, and 2 miles, of the English frontier, without daring to enter. While his numerous host so much despoiled the south of Scotland, that seven years would not repair the damage, Albany's only concern was for the broken axle-trees of five or six of his carriages for artillery; an incident which excited his irascibility to a violent degree. When Albany was at Lauder on his march, Sir Antony Ughtred, captain of Berwick, wrote to Surrey for a reinforcement. Argyle was at Glasgow, assembling his Irish (highlanders): Huntley pretended sickness, to avoid joining the Scottish army. Ughtred's letter, in the appendix to Hearne's Otterbourn.

Hall, 15 H. 8, informs us that lord Forbes, who was in the army, opposed the expedition: he probably means the *master* of Forbes, against whom this charge was afterwards adduced. See the notes, June 1536.

⁴ O. Surrey to Henry, B. VI, 306.

most area a large and strong tower rises to a great height: it ¹⁵²³ is surrounded by two walls, the outermost embraces a wide space, into which, in time of danger, the country people are accustomed to flee for refuge, and bring their cattle and corn; the space between the inner wall and the fort is much smaller, but more strongly secured with ditches and towers⁵."

The unaccountable scene which followed shall be described almost in the words of Surrey, in a dispatch to his sovereign, dated at the English camp near Wark, on the third of November⁶. On Saturday night Albany advanced some artillery ^{30 Oct.} against Wark, and sent the French auxiliaries over the Tweed, as he trusted them more than the Scots, and formed of them the van of his army⁷. On Sunday, at break of day, a vigorous fire commenced: and on the following day, at three o'clock in the afternoon, the Tweed being swelled with the snow and rain, Albany ordered two thousand French to pass in boats, and proceed to the assault. They speedily seized the "base-court," or exterior circle, but Sir William Lisle, captain of the castle, bravely defended the inner court for an hour and a half; after which time the French began to enter that precinct; but being then encountered hand to hand by the captain and garrison, they were driven out, and left ten slain. Surrey, then at Holy Island, instantly ordered the nearest part of the array to meet at Barmore wood, five miles from Wark; and advanced on Tuesday, at break of day. Albany ^{3 Nov.}

⁵ XIV, 22. The description may be applied to Norman castles in general.

⁶ O. Cal. B. VI, 304. Henry's answer, B. I, 307, fixes the date of this dispatch to the 3d and 4th Nov.

⁷ Margaret, in a letter to Dacre, Oct. 1523, C. Cal. B. II, 203, observes that Albany distrusts the Scots, and puts the French in the front. Wolsey, in a note on the margin, remarks that his want of confidence in the Scots afforded a presumption that he would not invade England: and, for any prowess they were of, he rather wishes the French in the van, than the Scots.

trembled

1523 trembled at his approach: withdrew the artillery: and founded a retreat to his numerous and astonished battalions. "Undoubtedly," says Surrey, "there was never man departed with more shame, or with more fear, than the duke has done this day⁸." The regent retired to Eccles, whence at half an hour past twelve, on tuesday night, he suddenly marched, hearing that the English approached; and his array, struck with his panic, dispersed, rather with flight than retreat, amid a tempest of snow which increased the general disorder⁹. Such was the issue of this grand expedition, which in its commencement only displays the regent's imprudence; and in its termination his total deficiency in military talents, and even in common valour.

Surrey, after requiring ten thousand marks to pay the foldiers for their past service, and journey to their homes¹, 12 Nov. dismissed his numerous and gallant army. His sovereign highly praised his conduct, and regarded the transaction as no less honourable than useful to England, as it might alienate the Scottish peers from France, and as a lasting reproach to Albany, who had "shamefully and cowardly raised his siege and fled," so that even the French monarch would be averse to support his precarious authority².

The regent, though, writhing with shame and anguish, he read reproaches in every eye, yet affected to be unconscious of

⁸ Surrey to Henry above-quoted. He computes the damage done by Albany in England at ten pounds. The English army was very numerous, for the general writes that he never beheld one so large, or so valiant: the battle would have been terrible.

⁹ O. Henry to Surrey, 12 Nov. 1523, B. I, 307. The letter of Surrey, of the 4th, seems lost; but Henry's answer recapitulates its contents. See also the account of an eye-witness, Buch. XIV, 23, and his life, p. 1.

¹ Cal. B. VI, 304.

² O. Henry to Surrey, 12 Nov. B. I, 307.

his lost reputation, and ascribed the disgrace to the peers who ¹⁵²³ would not advance into England; he even imputed to Arran, Lennox, and others, a design to have delivered him up to the English army³. A parliament was proclaimed to meet at Edinburgh on tuesday the seventeenth of November⁴, in which Albany in vain attempted to palliate his conduct. The peers insisted that the French should be instantly dismissed; and they accordingly failed partly by the eastern sea, partly by the western⁵: the season was unfavourable, and many perished⁶. To add, if possible, to the general contempt the regent, who had retained or dissipated not less than three hundred thousand crowns, entrusted to him by France for the purposes of his recent voyage, expressed his desire of being repaid for his expences, by the sale of the royal domains; though he knew that the consequence would be the reduction of the king his nephew to absolute poverty⁷. The proposal only shewed his despair of obtaining any purpose, except money, in Scotland, and was rejected: the chancellor also began to lessen his attachment, a rumour having arisen that Albany intended to bestow his office on another; though he, with Huntley, Argyle, and the bishop of Aberdeen, were regarded as his chief adherents⁸. The regent however prevailed on the parliament to consent that James should remain at Stirling, and to appoint Caffis, Fleming, Borthwick, to abide with him each in his turn for three months, and Murray, to attend him constantly⁹.

³ O. Margaret to Surrey, 14 Nov. ib. 281.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Same to same, 23 Nov. B. I, 194.

⁶ From a letter, Cal. B. I, 5, written in Jan. 1524, it appears that 400 or 500 French, who were driven by a tempest on the western isles, perished by famine or slaughter.

⁷ O. Margaret to Surrey, B. I, 194.

⁸ O. same to same, 23 Nov. B. I, 172.

⁹ O. Scottish Council to Margaret, 24 Nov. 1523, B. I, 309. O. Margaret to Surrey, same date, ib. 279.

1523 The queen, deriving consideration from Albany's decline, remonstrated strongly against this novelty, and repeated to Surrey her wish to withdraw into England; Fleming was a man of flagitious character, having, in order to destroy his own wife, poisoned her and her two sisters at once, a crime known to all Scotland; Murray's sister was the paramour of the regent, who had also placed Gouzolles, the captain of Milan, as a constant attendant of the young king¹. The Scottish council however only consented that Erskine should be added to the number, his simplicity being obnoxious to neither party; and that Margaret might visit her son, but not above two or three days at a time, and only with her ladies and usual train². After this arrangement, Albany desired of the parliament a permission to return to France in the spring, for five months, else he must insist on having the disposal of half the benefices in Scotland, in order to defray the expence of the war³. Many of the peers insisted on his resignation of the regency⁴; but all consented to his departure; which, in the event, proved final.

1524 The year fifteen hundred and twenty four is pregnant with diversity of events, among which the most conspicuous are, the final departure of Albany; the assumption of the authority by the queen; and the termination of the war with England. In the beginning of this year Huntley, one of the most potent peers of Scotland, died; and his son being only ten years of age, the weight of that name became dormant⁵. Albany in vain persisted in his desire of comprehending France, in a pacification to be concluded between England and Scotland,

¹ Letter last quoted.

² B. I, 309, already quoted.

³ O. Dacre to Wolsey, 27 Dec. B. I, 1.

⁴ Lest. 411, 412.

⁵ Cal. B. I, 5. Huntley's death was on the 16th Jan. 1523-4. Gordon's hist. Fam. Gordon, Edin. 1726, 2 vols. 8vo. I, 125; and so Ferrerius Hist. Gord. f. 150, ms. Harl. 1423.

offering even to go to Rome, if this point were granted⁶: his 1524
 affectation of mediating between Henry and Francis was con- Feb.
 sidered as most presumptuous, and his proposals were scornfully
 rejected. One of the last acts of his power was to procure the
 papal bulls for the promotion of Gawin Dunbar, prior of March
 Whithern and preceptor to the king, (nephew of Gawin
 Dunbar bishop of Aberdeen,) to the archbishopric of Glasgow:
 and Margaret upon this occasion wrote to Henry, requesting
 a safe conduct for a ship of one hundred and twenty tons,
 manned by twenty four mariners; which, by a singular ar-
 rangement, was to defray the expence of the bulls by a mer-
 cantile voyage⁷.

The regent having repeated, in a council of the peers, his
 intention of passing to France, it was demanded by them that,
 if he did not return by the first of September, his office should
 be considered as expired, and the sceptre placed in the hands
 of the king⁸. Despised by the chiefs, detested by the people,
 Albany had no intention to revisit a country, in which he had
 only met with unexampled vexations, and disgraces; and to
 which his presence, like the return of a comet, had only
 brought dismay and calamity: he therefore assented to this de-
 mand. But he insisted upon a promise that the lords would
 abide by the alliance with France, concluded at Rouen by the
 bishops of Dunkeld and Ross and secretary Panter, in fifteen

⁶ Albany's instructions to Barboun his secretary, sent to Dacre, 15 Feb. 1524, C. Cal. B. VI, 325. Catherine Ormiston, a relation of lord Borthwick, and a spy of Albany, was seized in England in March. Her confession, of no moment, may be seen in Cal. B. III, 67.

⁷ O. Margaret to Henry, 31 March, B. I, 272. Keith, 152, says Gawin Dunbar was installed in 1524. He must have been *elect* in 1523, as appears from his voyage to France above mentioned, for it is improbable that the chancellor Beton should be the archbishop there commemorated.

⁸ Epist. R. S. I, 352, 355.

1524 hundred and seventeen, and make no peace with England till the time fixt for his return⁹. He desired to leave Gouzolles, as his treasurer; and that nothing of moment should be done, without the consent of that foreigner. The peers demurred¹. He required forty thousand crowns of the fun, to defray the expence of his voyage to France, and to be repaid at Dieppe to the Scottish merchants. Refused². After carrying off many of the royal artillery of Scotland aboard his vessels, and committing the rest, with the custody of the castle of Dunbar, a key of the kingdom, to Gouzolles, (who retained it with his French garrison for about twelve years after, and at first even pretended to interfere in the affairs of the kingdom,) Albany
20 May took his final leave at Dunbarton, on the twentieth day of May, loaden with the execrations of a people, oppressed by his exactions, and stung with the ignominy of his government³.

In the absence of Albany, James Beton archbishop of St. Andrew's, and chancellor of the kingdom, possessed for two months the chief influence; a prelate whose character not a little resembled that of Cardinal Beton, his nephew, and successor in the metropolitan see and the chancery. The epif-

⁹ O. Dacre to Wolsey, 30 May 1524, B. II, 205. ¹ Ibid. ² Ibid.

³ Buch. XIV, 23, fixes the day of his departure. Dacre, 30 May, B. II, 205, mentions it as having taken place at Dunbarton. The other particulars appear from original letters, quoted under the years 1528 and 1536. Dacre informs Wolsey, 11 June, B. II, 306, that Albany, (who bore the title and arms of lord of Man,) wished to attack that isle on his return to France, but the soldiers engaged for the purpose would not proceed.

In Cal. B. II, 285, is given an abstract of nineteen letters, written about this time. They mention that Albany had left great power to Lennox, and had given him the abbey of Dryburgh, on condition that he acted as warden of the borders; and that Lennox gave it to James Stuart. From them it also appears that many Scottish peers had not only pensions from France, but even velvets, and silks, from the French king's wardrobe.

copal robe, the garb of sanctity and humility, served only as a cloke to all the passions of the man of the world: his pride and ambition were unbounded, his dissimulation profound, to his duplicity no principle was sacred. 1524

No sooner had Albany departed, than the scheme projected before his last arrival for placing the chief power ostensibly in the hands of the king, now only in his twelfth year, but really in those of a council under the controul of England, was revived with speedy success. The queen's late dereliction of her brother, at a critical period, was not forgotten; and the English cabinet resolved to trust her no further than should be found convenient; and, if any new duplicity should appear, to transfer the direction of affairs to Angus, whose influence in Scotland was very great, and who had long been attached to the English interest, and had in his exile corresponded with Henry⁴. But as Margaret was adored by the Scottish nation, to whom she was endeared by her constant mediations for peace, by her character of widow of their favourite monarch, and mother of a young king, always the object of warm hopes and affections, it was expedient that she should act a principal part in this grand exhibition. The earl of Surrey, now duke of Norfolk by the death of his father⁵, continued in the northern regions of England, in his character of lieutenant general, in order to overawe any opposition by the dread of an instantaneous array and invasion, while Margaret exerted every art to gain over many of the peers from Albany's interest; nor did she labour without success, for, in a letter to her brother, she 13 July assures him that several had acceded to her cause⁶. Arran

⁴ See a holograph letter from Angus to Henry, in French, dated Paris 8 May, Cal. B. III, 305, expressing gratitude and service.

⁵ Which happened on the 21st May 1524. Dugd. Bar.

⁶ O. Cal. B. I, 283.

1524 } who, being nearly allied to the throne, had long aspired to the regency against Albany, but was of doubtful affection to the English interest, now resolved to unite his pretensions with those of the queen: and, in the absence of Angus, their union was irresistible in Scotland, and, in the depression of the French influence, was exposed to little hazard from external force, or from the few remaining adherents of that faction. Margaret, confirmed in her resolutions by the accession of Arran, resolved to put them in execution without the aid of England; as by this mode of conduct she would increase her own importance, in the eyes of Henry and of Europe; and was at the same time certain that Henry would warmly support a scheme, which he had eagerly desired. Nor was this spirited princess free from a portion of that independent pride, which had animated the bosom of her husband James IV: she wished Scotland to be regarded as a kingdom above all foreign controul; and herself to be treated as a queen, and not as a delegate of cardinal Wolsey, whom she seems to have cordially hated and despised; nor was her good opinion of her brother increased by his infatuated devotion to that pedantic and unprincipled churchman. But this spirit was little agreeable to the tyrannical temper of the cardinal, who was afterwards to find in Angus a more submissive deputy for the management of Scotland. Yet had Wolsey been a politician, a character he falsely assumed, he must have foreseen that the violent manner, in which the English interest was exerted under Angus, would tend completely to alienate the young king from England, as actually happened; while his mother's independent measures, joined with her natural attachment to her country, would have formed the basis of an inclination, lasting, because the produce of reason and liberty; while his constrained and degrading submission terminated, as usual, in hatred. At this time

time his love to England formed a part of his filial affections: 1524
 on his release, at the end of three years, from the chains of
 Angus, rivetted by the haughty hands of Henry and Wolfey,
 he was to nourish an enmity never to be eradicated; which
 exposed him to the designs of the clergy attached to France,
 embittered his life, and was the cause of his untimely death in
 the very prime of his age.

Margaret, eager to obtain a power which she did not foresee
 was not to last many months, had only to revive her arrange-
 ment of last year, and put it in immediate execution, which
 Arran's assistance rendered no longer difficult. Accordingly,
 while Wolfey and Norfolk continued to doubt, but liberally
 promised every aid and supply, the queen suddenly left Stirling 26 July
 with her son, and a few attendants, and proceeded to Edin-
 burgh, where the young monarch was received with acclama-
 tions and tears of joy. Amid the mutual congratulations of
 the people, the degrading minority, which had proved so
 ruinous to the nation, was ended; behold a sovereign, young
 but wise above his years! behold the heir of an ancient line of
 kings, at length rescued from the hands of wicked ambition!
 behold the son of James IV, the valiant, the magnificent, our
 protector, our father! With such sounds of joy was the royal
 procession attended to the palace of Holyroodhouse: and pro-
 clamations being immediately issued in the name of James,
 and due notifications sent of his assumption of his own autho-
 rity, the well-affected peers crowded to his presence; while
 the others remained in silent consternation, any opposition being
 liable to a charge of rebellion. So easily did one day accom-
 plish what to the preceding seemed impossible.

' Lest. 412.

Many

1524 } Many of the lords, spiritual and temporal, immediately entered into an engagement, to support the king's assumption of 30 July the power. The original bond is yet extant, and bears that, as the king had proceeded from Stirling to take the sceptre, they promise to be loyal servants, and to support his authority or that used by deputies in his name, notwithstanding any profession they have made to Albany; nay they formally annul any engagement they have entered into with Albany, and quash and dissolve his regency, so that James may freely exert the entire sovereignty: and they promise that, in the next parliament, they shall pronounce the termination of Albany's government. This important instrument is signed by the bishops of Galloway and Ross, the abbots of Holyroodhouse, Scone and Paisley, the earls of Arran, Lennox, Crawford, Murray, Morton, Cassils, the lords Erskine, Fleming, Borthwick, Livingston, Avandale, and many others⁸.

The king, or rather Margaret, then took possession of the castle of Edinburgh, and probably appointed a new captain. As in that capital the parliaments were held, and it was essential that the magistracy should be devoted to the present government, the queen removed the provost from his office, which, at her instance, was conferred on lord Maxwell⁹.

James was now inflated in the sovereignty; and his minority was in future to be uncurbed by any regency. But as Margaret, and afterwards the chancellor and Angus, were in fact,

⁸ O. Cal. B. VI, 378. Notarial copy, 1 Aug. ib. 332. The latter is also signed *J. Chancellor*, an important name which I cannot discern in the original: the former has *Johannes Cantaily Archidiac. St. And.* which occurs not in the copy. Among the lesser names are Mr. Francis Bothwell, provost of Edinburgh; and a baillie, the dean of Gild, and the treasurer of that city.

⁹ Lesh. 413. Gouzolles in a letter to Albany, Sept. 1524, B. III, 90, says Maxwell was made provost on the 20th of August.

though

though not in name, regents, for the four succeeding years, ¹⁵²⁴ or till July one thousand five hundred and twenty eight; and it would be as contrary to historical rules, as to the civil law, to consider a boy aged twelve years and three months as an uncontrouled soveraign, while the most early majority of a monarch was computed at fourteen years; the termination of the power of Angus, when James was in his seventeenth year, shall be regarded as the commencement of the actual and independent authority of this king. Yet, as he now appears as an actor on the stage of history, some features of his nonage shall be here given, from contemporary evidence, reserving the marked character of his life and reign, according to the plan followed in this work, till he assume the decided direction of the national affairs, ever subject to the influence of the monarch's individual conduct. In person, countenance, and manner, if we believe the English embassadors, James very much resembled his uncle Henry¹; he displayed a spirit and firmness above his age, but not unusual in minor kings, accustomed from infancy to be treated with the respect and deference, due to manly sentiment and action. He rode well, tilted at the glove with a spear not unskilfully, fung with force and precision, danced with elegance; and his conversation did honour to his preceptor Gawin Dunbar, a man of science, being replete with masculine sense and information². In nothing would he permit himself to be regarded as a boy. Dr. Magnus, in requesting Wolsey to send an ornamented buckler to James, who desired to have one, on hearing that his uncle sometimes used that piece of defensive armour, informs the cardinal that it must be of manly size, for the young king had no puerile

¹ O. Magnus and Ratcliffe to Wolsey, 15 Nov. 1524. B. VI, 333.

² Ibid.

1524 weapon nor decoration; even his sword being a yard long before the hilt, and yet he could draw it as well as any man³. With hawks and hounds he was delighted⁴: nor was he a stranger to any noble exercise or amusement. But one other extract of a letter from Magnus to Wolsey must not be omitted, "It is suspected that his inclination will be much inclined to cruelty, for when the queen's grace taketh displeasure against any of the lords, or others, then she procureth the said young king to be sad, heavy, and pensive, to look down and frown upon them, and to hold unto them some fore and sharp words⁵."

1 Aug. The queen's sudden production of her son anticipated the plan projected by Wolsey and Norfolk to that effect, which was, that the chancellor of Scotland should be intercepted by means of a pretended conference on the borders, and compelled to acknowledge the sovereignty of James, that Norfolk should then press the queen to accomplish the scheme, offer her sums to the amount of two thousand pounds to bribe the peers; and his army, if force were necessary: that, it being better, as Wolsey coarsely expresses himself, to have two strings to the bow, especially when one was made by a woman's fingers, if Margaret were averse, Norfolk was himself to enforce the acknowledgment of James by fire and sword: but, if she consented, the guard of two hundred men, to be paid at Henry's expence, desired by her and Arran, for the security of the king's person, should be granted; Angus, as they also requested, should not be permitted to visit Scotland, except by the queen's favour. The whole power of Henry was promised in support of the enterprize; and as James had been left by his avaricious uncle the regent in great penury, one thousand nobles were to

³ O. Magnus to Wolsey, 31 May, 1525, B. II, 35.

⁴ O. Same to same, 31 March 1525, B. VII, 3.

⁵ Ibid.

be remitted to him, two hundred marks to the queen, one ¹⁵²⁴ hundred pounds to Arran, merely as an earnest of similar favours in future ⁶.

Upon the unexpected tidings that the scheme was accomplished, the English guard, and the presents were transmitted: it was desired that an embassy of peace should be sent to ^{9 Aug.} London, as an honourable proceeding towards Henry: and Wolsey warmly recommended that James Beton, archbishop of St. Andrew's, chancellor, and Gawin Dunbar bishop of Aberdeen, who continued obstinate in their adherence to Albany's authority, should be silenced by imprisonment, or otherwise ^{13 Aug.} ⁷. At the same time the queen warmly protested against the return of Angus, averring that, if this were permitted, she would find some other resource for herself than the support of England ⁸, evidently inferring that of France: but, to shew her devotion to the desires of the English court, she committed both St. Andrew's and Aberdeen to close captivity ⁹; while Wolsey wrote to the former, offering many objects of ambition, ^{19 Aug.} and even the hat of cardinal, if he would consent to embrace the measures of England, and pass as ambassador into that kingdom ¹. The chancellor, instead of compliance, offered

⁶ O. Wolsey to Norfolk, 1 Aug. 1524, Cal. B. VI, 355. In this letter it is mentioned that some English vessels in the Iceland trade had been taken by two ships of Leith: and that the Scots had so many cruisers, that even the Zealand fleet was in danger, if the English squadron in the northern seas were not more alert. ⁷ O. Wolsey to Norfolk, 9 Aug. B. II, 15.

⁸ O. Margaret to Norfolk, B. VI, 377.

⁹ C. Gouzolles to Albany, Sept. 1524, B. I, 47, and B. III, 90. He says the prelates were committed to prison for their *opposition in parliament*. It is no wonder that the Scottish parliaments had no minorities. Dr. Magnus, B. VI, 329, confirms the account of Gouzolles.

¹ O. Wolsey to Norfolk, 19 Aug. B. VI, 353.

1524 to the queen twenty thousand crowns for his freedom, besides
 rewards to some of the peers².

4 Sept. A truce with England, of about three months, was concluded at Berwick by Norfolk and Caffils³; but the arrangement of a solemn embassy from Scotland, as stipulated, required more time for preparation. Meanwhile the queen had remitted to Henry some articles, expected by her and Arran: she represented her necessity of supplies, for the greater part of the offices of state being in her hands, she was obliged to defray all expences, and Albany had given away most of the king's property to the chief peers: for Arran the garter, and a pension, were required⁴; and the other terms were esteemed haughty and covetous by the English cabinet. But some compliance was necessary, for a favourite part of Wolfey's scheme remained to be accomplished. To secure the prelates of St. Andrew's and Aberdeen, the cardinal's violent and unprincipled politics considered it as essential that they should be sent, in disguise, and with great secrecy, to Berwick, under a strong guard, to be imprisoned in England: he warmly represents the advantages of this measure, the profit to the scanty royal treasury by the confiscation of their property, the dangers to be by this mean frustrated, the confirmation given by terror to the queen's government, the despair with which it would impress Albany, and all his adherents⁵. But the queen, wishing to preserve terms with France and the regent, who might, in the revolutions of human affairs, again lend their friendship, when

² O. Hals (a messenger) to Norfolk, 1 Sept. B. III, 96.

³ Rymer, XIV, 21.

⁴ C. 31 Aug. B. I, 218.

⁵ O. Wolfey to Norfolk, 2 Sept. B. VI, 336. Redress is, in this letter, ordered to be demanded from the Scots, for the capture of some English ships returning from Iceland. It is granted that the guards for James, paid by England, shall consist of gentlemen, each to have a servant; and sixteen pence a day is to be paid to each for himself and his man, as the queen desires.

that

that of England failed, was averse to such a decisive measure; ¹⁵²⁴ and was contented with retaining the prelates in captivity. Gouzolles, the captain of Dunbar, not only informed Albany of all the transactions by letters, some of which being intercepted by England are yet extant ⁶, but had the insolence to ^{5 Sept.} remonstrate to James against his new council, and in favour of Albany ⁷.

A parliament was now sitting at Edinburgh; and the queen's measures met with its entire concurrence ⁸. Yet the pride and weakness of Arran, and Margaret's indecent conduct, who was now enamoured of Henry Stuart, second son of Andrew lord Evandale, the third who bore that title, began to displease. This youth she appointed lord treasurer ⁹; and was next year, upon her divorce from Angus, to raise him to her bed. Lennox and Glencairn left Edinburgh in disgust; and the ^{11 Sept.} Scots were in general dissatisfied that the queen should affect to rule without a council, or at least without its deliberation and assent ¹. Angus had now returned from France ² and had resided two months in London: and Wolsey was not a little embarrassed how to act towards him, the French ambassador having insidiously whispered that he intended to support the interests of France; while, on the other hand, Arran had never been considered as a decided friend to England, but would incline to any party, which would support his claim to the regency ³. Yet the English cabinet concerted that a report

⁶ C. B. I, 47, and B. III, 90.

⁷ O. 5 Sept. B. I, 40.

⁸ Hals, in a letter to Norfolk, Edin. 12 Sept. B. III, 80, says he has sent the copy of all the acts passed at this parliament: were they printed?

⁹ O. Norfolk to Wolsey, 19 Sept. B. VI, 361.

¹ O. Hals to Norfolk, 12 Sept. B. III, 80. O. Norfolk to Wolsey, ib. 361; he speaks also of her "ungodly living."

² Wolsey to Dacre, 6 July: Letters at the end of Hearne's Otterbourn.

³ O. Wolsey to Norfolk, 15 Sept. VI, 345.

1524 should be diligently spread, that the pope had agreed only to listen to the requests of James himself in disposing the Scottish benefices⁴. And it was determined that Dr. Magnus, chaplain to Henry and a civilian of celebrated talents, should, with Roger Ratcliffe gentleman usher of the privy chamber, be sent on a resident embassy to the Scottish court; the former to influence the king by prudent advice, the latter by his noted politeness and pleasant conversation⁵.

Arran had already, perhaps with the connivance of the queen, sent an envoy to the French monarch, desiring a continuance of the alliance: nor do they seem to have hesitated to sound Francis, on the price he would pay for their services, if they abandoned England⁶. His instructions were sent to Gouzolles, with the character of ambassador, and are dated at 15 Sept. Avignon⁷, where Francis was preparing for his expedition into Italy, terminated, in February, by his captivity at the fatal battle of Pavia. They import that he thanked the king, and states, for their desire to continue the alliance; that he was satisfied with their conduct to Albany; that he was concerned that he could not remit money, nor send Albany, who was prevented from returning at the appointed time, by the disease and death of his wife; and the season was now too far advanced; so that they must temporize till next year, when Albany might be better prepared, and France more free from difficulties, of which, Francis unprophetically adds, "there is the greatest appearance, not to say certainty⁸." He proceeds

⁴ O. Wolsey to Norfolk, 15 Sept. VI, 345.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ The envoy to France appears to have been David Beton, afterwards cardinal; for his return, and the commission to Gouzolles are mentioned together in a letter Magnus to Wolsey, 17 Dec. B. II, 76.

⁷ C. Cal. B. VI, 411.

⁸ "Et y est l'apparence bien grande, et come chose presque asseurée."

to state that he remains well disposed to a marriage treaty between James and his daughter, as settled by the treaty of Rouen, which he hopes they will observe as he has ever done: and he concludes with mentioning that Angus had secretly withdrawn from France, without his knowledge, or that of Albany; and that he ought of course to be regarded as devoted to England, and as a rebel. In his letter to the king⁹, he refers to the instructions sent to Gouzolles: in that to Margaret, (no letter from whom is however acknowledged to have been received,) he only requests her to support the real interests of her son¹.

Meanwhile Norfolk retained spies even in the palace of the Scottish king²; and somewhat of this intercourse with France seems to have been suspected, if indeed the instructions and letters of France were not intercepted, as is most probable. The conduct of Arran and the queen was more and more disliked: she had even given the seals of chancellor³, for the time, to her paramour Henry Stuart; and never consulted the nobles, even in most important affairs. The English cabinet began to look to Angus, as he would at least prove a check upon her conduct, he being so much beloved in Scotland at this period, that his influence, like the ancient power of his house, rather passed the limits of a subject⁴; and he earnestly desired to revisit his native country, which an absence of two years and a half had only more endeared to his ambition. Yet money was regularly remitted to pay the English guards attendant on James, and reward the party which supported Margaret,

⁹ C. B. VI, 413.

¹ C. *ibid.*

² George Shaw, a servant of James, was a spy. Norfolk to Wolfey, 19 Sept. VI, 361.

³ *Ibid.* Norfolk says he had ALL the seals, and ruled at his pleasure.

⁴ O. Norfolk to Wolfey, 19 Sept. VI, 361.

consisting

1524 consisting chiefly of the earls of Arran, Murray, Lennox, Cassils,
 and the lords Maxwell, Glamis, Evandale, Livingston, Sempil,
 3 Oct. Halket, Somerville⁵: and the queen and Arran warmly re-
 monstrated against the return of Angus into Scotland; and
 even averred that, if it were permitted, England could expect
 no embassy of pacification⁶. Notwithstanding these menaces
 Wolsey entered into a formal agreement with Angus, dated at
 London on the fourth of October⁷, in which that peer engages
 to support James against Albany, and openly oppose the latter,
 if he returned to Scotland before the king was twenty-one
 years of age, and every exertion of the French interest; to
 attempt a reconciliation with the queen, but not to go to
 court, except with her consent, nor to form any party against
 her; to establish an agreement with Arran if possible: but if
 Margaret and that peer advance not the interest of James,
 meaning that of England, Henry is to support Angus against
 both; who is to maintain the cause of England against every
 power, his own sovereign excepted, and to follow Henry's
 advice in conveying the archbishop of St. Andrew's to Eng-
 land, and in other matters: the natural connection of Angus
 with England, by his marriage, and the injuries which he had
 sustained from Albany, are commemorated, and large rewards
 are promised: to the observance of the articles Angus and his
 brother George not only sign but swear. Yet his return to
 Scotland was delayed almost a month; nor was it permitted,
 till the English cabinet found the measure indispensable. Mag-

⁵ O. Robert Lord to Wolsey, 2 Oct. B. I, 70. Sums paid; James 100 marks, Margaret 200, Arran 100*l*. Lennox 75*l*. Master of Kilmauris 40*l*. Adam Ottirburn 40*l*. Two months pay to the guards 378*l*. 18*s*. 8*d*. All paid in crowns of the sun, at 5*s*. each, so 8*d*. saved on each crown; hence they were only worth 4*s*. 4*d*. Names of the peers of the queen's party, B. I, 222.

⁶ C. Arran to Norfolk, 3 Oct. B. II, 196.

⁷ O. B. VI, 395.

nus and Ratcliffe, the ambassadors, proceeded to Newcastle, ¹⁵²⁴ on their way to Scotland: but remained there some time, till the state of affairs were more clearly ascertained. They informed Wolsey⁸ that the queen and Arran were the sole opposers of the return of Angus; and that she was guided by most imprudent councils, only confiding in Arran, Maxwell, two or three kinsmen of Arran, and other young men; that Arran being connected by affinity and friendship with the chancellor could hardly be sincerely attached to England, and that the queen's chief desire was money to support her profligate profusion. Norfolk at the same time advised⁹ that Angus might suddenly revisit his country, to prevent the queen and Arran from being previously strengthened by a connection with the French faction, as Arran already solicited the deliverance of the chancellor: and indeed the government could not continue, as neither were the lords consulted, nor even justice administered; and the nation regarded the queen's conduct, in prolonging the exile of her own husband, with great reprobation. Norfolk in vain advised Margaret to conciliate the peers by affability, and by admitting them to her councils; she answered that she could not consent, as she had no cause to place confidence in any, except Arran and Maxwell¹; not foreseeing that, by thus narrowing the basis of her authority, she exposed it to a speedy overthrow. Angus was permitted to proceed to Newcastle; but Norfolk was instructed to detain him there, and to offer to the queen, as from himself, that if ambassadors were sent for a lasting pacification, her husband should not be suffered to enter Scotland². She represented

⁸ O. Magnus and Ratcliffe to Wolsey, Newcastle 10 Oct. B. VI, 344.

⁹ O. Norfolk to Wolsey, 10 Oct. B. I, 311.

¹ C. Norfolk to Margaret, B. VII, 17. O. Margaret to Norfolk, B. VI, 402.

² C. Wolsey to Norfolk, B. VII, 87.

that,

1524 that, in case of this treaty, the kingdom would lose fifty thousand franks, annually remitted by France; and that her influence was so small that Scot of Buccleugh had long retained part of her property, worth four thousand marks yearly, for which cause she had lodged both him, and Ker of Cessford, in the castle of Edinburgh; though with great offence to Lennox, 18 Oct. whose bounden follower Buccleugh was³. Arran also wrote to Dacre, positively refusing any agreement with Angus, who in his opinion could only intend deceit⁴.

The English ambassadors, Magnus and Ratcliffe, still remained at Newcastle, as the Scottish embassy was not yet ready to proceed to London; here they learned that the bishop of 20 Oct. Aberdeen was set at liberty, and that the chancellor was permitted to enjoy his festivals and friends in the castle of Edinburgh; while the queen's counsellors were all attached to Albany, though ready to receive money from any party⁵. By presents to the queen, and Arran, the chancellor was at length 22 Oct. freed, after an imprisonment of two months⁶; a deliverance esteemed a criterion of the queen's insincerity in her attachment to England; and Sir George Douglas, in imparting this intelligence to Norfolk, eagerly desired that his brother Angus might return, as the peers would support him, the queen and Arran being now suspected of favouring France. Wolsey also began to perceive that the queen and Arran "took unstable ways;" while Lennox, and many other peers, warmly wished

³ O. Margaret to Norfolk, 14 Oct. Cal. B. I, 285, 8 leaves.

⁴ O. Arran to Dacre, 18 Oct. B. VII, 74.

⁵ O. Magnus and Ratcliffe to Wolsey, Newcastle 20 Oct. B. VII, 77. They relate that the bishop of Aberdeen was at Linlithgow, and declared that Scotland should not be ruled by him who had killed her king and nobles: meaning Norfolk, or Henry.

⁶ O. Sir George Douglas to Norfolk, 24 Oct. B. III, 76.

for the presence of Angus, whom the late slaughter of lord Fleming by his followers evinced to be a decided enemy to the French faction⁷. And the absence of Angus, and of the English ambassadors, from Scotland being now found to be rather prejudicial than advantageous to the designs of England, they were permitted to proceed.

The ambassadors entered Edinburgh on the twenty-ninth of October⁸; while Angus escaped, in appearance, into Scotland on the first of November. He instantly sent a letter from Bonkill, in the Merse, to the queen his wife, couched in the most moderate terms; that he had come solely to serve the queen, and his sovereign; that, if there be any offence, he is ready to offer atonement; and he earnestly requested permission to speak to her⁹: no answer could be expected from her anger: the English ambassadors advised him to remain in quiet for a season, and observe his duty to Margaret, to follow the general order from the court, in not travelling with above forty followers, and to permit his brother William to answer for his intrusion into the abbey of Coldingham'. He accordingly remained for some time in silence, like a hurricane in a cloud, and Scotland continued unagitated by his presence.

⁷ C. Wolsey to Norfolk, no date, B. III, 128, whence it appears that the assassination of Fleming happened, before Wolsey had heard that Angus had entered Scotland. Crawford, Off. 326, says Fleming was slain by Tweedie of Drumelzier on the 1st Nov. In Scotstarvet's Calendars we find that Tweedie, in 1531, gave 10*l.* in mortmain to the church of Biggar, for the safety of the soul of John lord Fleming.

⁸ O. Magnus and Ratcliffe to Wolsey, Edin. 2 Nov. B. VI, 341.

⁹ C. Cal. B. VI, 371.

¹ C. Magnus and Ratcliffe to Angus, 4 Nov. VI, 372. On the 7th Nov. Norfolk wrote to Angus, desiring him to return to Berwick, till the parliament of Scotland should have arisen, ib. 373: but he did not comply.

1524 { The instructions of Magnus and Ratcliffe bore, that they were to attempt to reconcile Angus with the queen and Arran; to present some money, and to promise a continuance of the pay to the English guard of two hundred, if an embassy for peace were sent; to represent to Margaret the high praise arising, if she would sacrifice her private pique against Angus to the public benefit; and lastly, upon her oath of secrecy, to disclose to her the grand basis of the pacification, namely an offer of the princess Mary in marriage to James, though by the infraction of an engagement which affianced her to the emperor Charles V². Wolsey also desired the ambassadors to whisper the flattering prospect of the succession to the English throne; to feed the chancellor with magnificent promises; and by every exertion to procure permission for their lasting residence in Scotland, to the jealousy of France, and the advancement of the English influence³. The ambassadors accordingly remained in Scotland, the residence of Magnus being prolonged for a year and a half, though not without intervals of violent opposition: and his correspondence completely unfolds the state of Scottish politics, during this busy period.

Magnus, after delivering his letters, and some presents, disclosed to the queen, upon oath, the main intent of the embassy, while she endeavoured to vindicate herself for the deliverance of the prelates, ascribing this event to Arran's controul⁴. She desired

² C. Cal. B. VI, 385.

³ C. Wolsey to Magnus and Ratcliffe, B. VII, 40.

⁴ O. Magnus and Ratcliffe to Wolsey, 2 Nov. VI, 341. Some minute particulars may amuse. The letters were presented while Margaret and James were going to mass, amid the music of trumpets and *shamulles*. Henry sent a coat of cloth of gold, and a sword, to James, who on wearing them said, with boyish *naïveté*, "You see how my good uncle remembers me." In further defence

desired that Henry would apply to the pope, to grant no Scottish 1524
 benefices, except by her son's desire; to whom she also re-
 requested that the order of the garter should be remitted in a
 solemn manner⁵. Margaret agreed that an embassy should
 be sent; and in the mean time Arran proceeded to hold a
 conference with Norfolk at the church of Ellam⁶. It was
 demanded that the English guards should be increased to three
 hundred, before the approaching meeting of a parliament, on
 which so much depended: but this Norfolk refused, as the
 queen's indecent affection to Henry Stuart entrusted the dis-
 posal of affairs in his youthful hands; and the duke recom-
 mended to Magnus, as a clergyman, rather to advise her for
 the good of her soul, the wisest peers in Scotland thinking
 that the guard already sent only emboldened her to disregard
 their counsels; and any further sums were denied, till a writ-
 ten promise were given that an embassy should be speedily sent
 to London⁷. Even the pay for the guard of two hundred 6 Nov.
 was now ordered to be discontinued, after having been allowed
 only for two months, on pretence that the queen might em-
 ploy that attendance against Angus⁸. Wolsey and Norfolk,
 apparently informed of her duplicity in treating with France,
 had recourse to those rash and imperious measures, which dis-
 tinguished the administration of the proud cardinal, and ren-
 dered it a series of repeated errors and disgraces. Norfolk
 dispatched a letter to Margaret⁹, composed in so angry a style, 8 Nov.
 that Magnus prudently did not present it: she was reproached
 defence of her deliverance of the chancellor, the queen said he was sickly, and
 the captivity might have killed him: the ambassadors, in a letter of 10 Nov.
 VI, 329, observe that he "took cold" in the castle of Edinburgh.

⁵ Ibid.⁶ O. Margaret to Norfolk, B. VI, 382.⁷ C. Norfolk to Magnus, 5 Nov. Cal. B. VII, 85.⁸ C. Same to same, 6 Nov. B. VI, 370.⁹ C. ib. 375.

1524 for not having hitherto complied with her brother's desires, in any measure whatever; that she would neither be reconciled to Angus, nor send an embassy; that she even permitted traitors to surround her son; and had forbidden the bishop of Dunkeld to inform the English cabinet of this imprudence: and Henry's highest displeasure was threatened, in case she still delayed to comply with his demands. A fit style to be addressed to a sovereign and independent princess! Norfolk, at the same time, desired Magnus to stop all further payments, as the English council, enraged at the queen's conduct, had resolved to support Angus; a letter from Henry to the Scottish peers was threatened if she persisted; and the ambassador was desired to deliver the above recited letter, and to thunder in her ears the open enmity of Henry in case of her obstinacy¹. Magnus
 10 Nov. wrote to Wolsey² at great length, informing him that the queen not being very favourable to her brother, the ambassadors had applied to the lords, and found the chancellor, a man crafty and changeable, affecting to listen to England, though at the same time he evinced his knowledge of Wolsey's design to send him to Berwick to be imprisoned; he promised to serve Henry, and promote the reconciliation of Arran and Angus, who, as appears from a subsequent letter³, had no real cause of dissension, but Margaret instigated Arran to enmity, as a veil for her own hatred to her husband: that the bishop of Aberdeen was dubious; but Alexander Stuart, commendator of Scone and Inchaffray, the injured brother of Albany, Robert Cockburn bishop of Dunkeld, the earl of Cassils, and Adam

¹ C. Norfolk to Magnus and Ratcliffe, 8 Nov. VI, 374.

² O. Cal. B. VI, 329. The chancellor said the cause of his imprisonment was his refusal to sign a deed, "for taking forth of the young king:" how then came his signature in the notarial copy above mentioned, 1 Aug. 1524?

³ 15 Nov. B. VI, 333.

Otterburn one of the most learned and experienced men in 1524 Scotland, were all well affected to England: that the queen was very ill advised, but that the parliament, which was to meet next monday, might perhaps arrange the public affairs; that Robert Barton the comptroller, who enjoyed much of Margaret's favour, had attempted to sow discord by complaining of the capture of a Scottish ship by the English; that she even desired Magnus and Ratcliffe to depart; and the novelty of their residence rather excited the jealousy even of the lords, whose power appears, from various parts of this dispatch, to have been regarded as equal to that of the queen. In another letter⁴ they imparted to Wolsey the intelligence that their residence began to be more agreeable, by the address they used with the queen; that the Scottish embassy was ready to proceed, but wanted money; that they endeavour to persuade the chancellor to take the lead in this embassy, in order to render him suspected to Albany; that Arran manifested no enmity to Angus, but said that their union would effectually prevent Albany's return; that in the parliament, which commenced on the preceding day, the chancellor and the bishop of Aberdeen were the chief leaders⁵.

During the second week of this parliament, on wednesday the twenty-third of November, at four o'clock in the morning, the earls of Angus and Lennox, the *master* or heir of Kilmauris, Scot of Buccleugh not long since liberated, and other chiefs,

⁴ O. 15 Nov. B. VI, 333.

⁵ In a Scottish parliament the numerous clergy must ever have maintained a superiority in debate over the unlearned peers. See the *orders* of this parliament, concerning the government, in Keith's Hist. App. p. 9. The *secret* council was to consist of the chancellor, the bishop of Aberdeen, and Arran, and Argyle. Albany's office is formally extinguished; and the queen is declared chief of the council.

with

1524 with their followers, suddenly advanced to Edinburgh; and at that dead hour of winter a part scaled the walls, and opened the gates to the rest, when the whole body, to the amount of about four hundred men, advanced to the cross in the centre of the city, and proclaimed that they came as good subjects. Angus and his friends afterwards proceeded to the council of state, consisting of the chancellor, the bishops of Aberdeen and Dunkeld, Argyle, and other temporal peers, and desired them to take the guardianship of the young king.

Meanwhile the castle began to discharge its artillery on the city, in order to expell the party of Angus; while the bishop of Aberdeen, and the abbot of Cambuskenneth, proceeded with Magnus the English ambassador to the abbey, to beseech the queen's orders to stop the fire of the fortress. They there found several peers, with four or five hundred followers, armed with hagbuts, and prepared to assault Angus. The queen admitted the bishop and abbot, but ordered the ambassador to retire, which he did, not without danger, as one ball had slain two tradesmen, a woman, and a priest. Angus injured none; and upon receiving an order in the name of his sovereign, he left the capital with his party, at four in the afternoon, and withdrew to Dalkeith. After his departure, Margaret and the king her son proceeded, by torch-light, from the abbey to the castle, where they remained, accompanied only by the secretary of Albany, and by Murray, who was warmly devoted to the French faction⁶.

The English ambassadors seem to narrate this as an unexpected event⁷; and there being no evidence that it was pre-

⁶ O. Magnus and Ratcliffe to Wolsey, 26 Nov. Cal. B. I, 121.

⁷ Yet Sir Robert Barton, the comptroller, had notice of a plot, in a letter from Rothes, signed, "Rede and Ryve," (Read and Tear this letter, destroy it,) C. Cal. B. I, 81.

concerted

concerted by Wolsey, it is probable that it was an impulse of ¹⁵²⁴ resentment, occasioned by the exclusion of Angus and Lennox from the national council, or perhaps by some measures therein agitated against them, or their friends. It however appears that the chancellor, finding Albany's authority annulled by his nonappearance before the first of September, and considered as terminated by two successive parliaments, resolved to form a coalition with the party of Angus, as the only method by which he could hope to support himself against the queen, who had injured him beyond hopes of concord; and his affinity with Arran only increased his sentiments of vengeance against an insult, in which that nobleman had joined with Margaret. Angus, now hopeless of reconciliation with the queen his wife, would eagerly listen to the proposals of the richest man in Scotland, and whose power he himself could alone equal^{*}; and the plan, at the same time that it preserved inviolate the chancellor's pride and independence, and prevented the odious charge of his open dereliction of Albany to embrace the English interest, also offered to Angus the surest means of supporting that interest, and the noblest, as, by a consolidation of internal power, it emancipated him from the capricious violence of Wolsey, an object of detestation even to the English peers, and to every ingenuous mind. This powerful coalition gradually undermined the party of Margaret and Arran, by steps presently to be described; and assuming the custody of the king, and the supreme power, continued in vigour for two years, till Angus, usurping all the authority, only hastened his own fall. The epoch of its commencement is therefore

* The earldom of Fife had been assigned to him by Albany, VI, 405. The English ambassadors, II, 255, expressly mention his opulence, as superior to that of any Scottish subject.

1524 of importance; and is clearly ascertained from the dispatch
 above narrated.

The queen and Arran, terrified by this unexpected event, could now only hope to maintain the ascendant by Henry's support, and hastened the embassy into England, consisting of
 27 Nov. the earl of Cassils, Robert Cockburn bishop of Dunkeld, and the abbot of Cambuskenneth. Margaret instructed them⁹ to represent to Henry that, being appointed by the last parliament the chief person in the council of state assigned to James, she must act with discretion, so as not to forfeit their confidence by shewing too strong a disposition towards England; that it could not be granted that France should be omitted in the proposed pacification, except the marriage offered by Henry between James and Mary were previously and finally determined, along with a perpetual peace; but a treaty only of years must embrace confederates. She remonstrates against Henry's conduct, in permitting Angus to enter Scotland, and in soliciting the pope to assign Coldingham to his brother William, to the prejudice of her son's prerogative. The ambassadors proceeding to the borders adjusted with Dacre a truce
 29 Nov. of two months¹; and then passed to London, where the negotiations, perplexed with difficulties, were extended to great length; nor could the marriage be accomplished: but brief truces, and afterwards extended treaties, were to prolong the peace between the realms, with but one short interruption,

⁹ C. B. VI, 191. O. Margaret to Henry, 27 Nov. B. VII, 50. The commission to the ambassadors is dated 18 Nov. Rymer, XIV, 27; and they are empowered to treat of a marriage between James and Mary, the "filia et heres apparens" of Henry. Yet as early as September, Margaret had applied to Norfolk for 100*l.* to Cassils, without which provision he could not proceed on his embassy. O. Norfolk to Wolfsey, 19 Sept. VI, 361.

¹ Rymer, XIV, 28.

for a happy period of eighteen years, till the last year of the 1524
reign of James.

To evince to Henry the sincerity of their conduct, Margaret and Arran charged Marchmont herald to proceed to France, with instructions, and with letters to Francis and Albany, no- 11 Dec. tifying that as the latter had not returned before the first of September, as stipulated, the three estates had, in solemn parliament, annulled his authority, and transferred the direction of affairs to the queen and a council: and desiring that Albany would restore the artillery lodged in the castle of Dunbar: and that Francis would consider the distresses which the Scottish commerce suffered upon his account, being expelled from England, Flanders, and Spain, and interrupted even in visiting France by the numerous hostile vessels². This step was decisive; and if embraced in due time, and not from absolute necessity, might have secured Henry's firm support to his sister's power.

Meanwhile, the further residence of Ratcliffe being found unnecessary, the English affairs, with the title of lord ambassador, were left to Magnus, a man of eminent prudence 16 Dec. and ability³. David Beton, nephew of the chancellor, and afterwards the famous cardinal, who had been sent ambassador to France in August, returned with the instructions from

² Epist. R. S. I, 351—356, closing the first volume of these letters; and the second unhappily only opens at August 1539, those of the intervening period having perished.

The learned Ruddiman, notes on Buchanan, I, 448, concludes from this embassy that James was not in power till now; but the contrary is evident from innumerable proofs above adduced; and Ruddiman often errs in those notes, from the want of materials, and not of industry.

³ O. Magnus and Ratcliffe to Wolsey, 29 Nov. B. II, 255. The title of lord ambassador is given to Magnus, in many letters from persons in Scotland to him.

1524 Francis above related, and which shewing the decline of his power contributed solely to reduce the French faction, which now consisted only of Gawin Dunbar archbishop of Glasgow, James Hay bishop of Ross, and the earl of Murray its chief support, as the death of Huntley had left to him the principal influence in the north of Scotland⁴: all those had been favourites of Albany, and remained attached to him by gratitude or expectation. The queen retained the young monarch in the castle of Edinburgh, but without any personal guard⁵; while the chancellor and Angus only needed the king's presence to assume the management of affairs; the citizens of the capital were inclined to their party, and the lofty and commanding fortress presented to them a menacing front; and appeared like a beacon of civil war.

1525 Jan. Amid these contests the nation relapsed into disorder, and the people were exposed to constant rapine and assassination⁶. Arran, who alone, among the temporal lords, could boast of opulence, in vain set an example of singular merit in the strict observance of the laws; and his orderly and decent deportment resembled that then assumed by the English nobles⁷. The chancellor and Angus continued to insist that the king should not be kept in a kind of captivity by his mother, but should be ruled by a council appointed by the three estates. They had withdrawn to St. Andrew's; and concerted the boldest and most decisive measures against the queen. Cassils, in the mean time, had returned from London for fresh instructions; and Margaret sent to her brother some articles⁸,

⁴ O. Magnus to Wolfey, 22 Dec. B. II, 114.

⁵ O. Patrick Sinclair to Norfolk, 31 Dec. B. I, 34. This confidential servant was also bribed, and declaims against the queen.

⁶ O. Magnus to Wolfey, 9 Jan. B. II, 72. ⁷ Ibid.

⁸ O. Cal. B. VIII, 18.

bearing that Henry must engage to wed his daughter to James ¹⁵²⁵ when she became fourteen years of age, for on no other ground would the Scottish peers consent to abandon France: that, as the chancellor had openly declared against her, and half the realm was on his side, she desired that Norfolk might advance ten thousand men to the frontiers; that money might be sent to her and her son, while an agent on the borders should retain three thousand pounds, to defray the expence of a guard around James; that artillery and powder should be remitted, as Albany had transferred those of Scotland to Dunbar: she concludes, with her usual openness, that to Henry alone would she offer such terms. But, though the English monarch eagerly wished the marriage, he could not listen to such proposals, which he evidently saw were only extorted by the necessity of Margaret's affairs. Gouzolles the French ambassador, by his residence at court, prevented many explanations between the queen and Magnus: but his national petulance began to give disgust; and one day, when Margaret was indisposed, he used such improper freedom among her ladies, that the spirit of Henry Stuart, her minion, was forced to interpose, by sending a message to the ambassador instantly to leave the chamber, else he would throw him down stairs⁹. Magnus presented to the queen the papal bulls obtained by Henry, assigning the disposition of the benefices in Scotland to James; a great accession of power, gained at the expence of Albany's future influence. The English envoy further proposed to his master the settlement of pensions on the Scottish peers attached to England; but apparently without success¹.

Margaret in vain endeavoured, by the mediation of Robert Barton the lord comptroller, to detach the bishop of Aberdeen

⁹ O. Magnus to Henry, 24 Jan. B. VI, 423. O. Magnus to Wolsey, same date, B. II, 88.

¹ Ibid.

1525 from the confederated lords at St. Andrew's. The prelate answered that, as the queen had returned no reply to the articles offered by the peers, he could not adopt her cause, while the country could only be pacified by union among the nobles². A proclamation was now fulminated from the castle of Edinburgh against the chancellor, the bishop of Aberdeen, and the prior of St. Andrew's, a clergyman whose office was reputed equal in wealth to the archbishopric: the king was made to declare that having assumed the government, and great affairs being to be agitated on the return of Cassils from England, he had invited the archbishop, the bishop, and the prior, to his council; but they did not obey, holding conferences at St. Andrew's with Angus and Lennox, and with Argyle, whom they had won to their evil purposes; therefore death and confiscation are held forth to all who shall join to support their unjust cause³. On the other side, after employing twenty days in
25 Jan. deliberation, the peers at St. Andrew's issued a declaration⁴, purporting that the king was kept in an unhealthy place, as the castle of Edinburgh, exposed not only to every fury of tempest, but to the moist air of the northern lake, was then reputed; and that the continual tumults in the capital, and its vicinity, rendered their approach dangerous: they therefore ordain a convention of the three estates, to meet at Stirling on monday the sixth day of February, as they had written to many prelates, lords, and great barons, desiring their attend-

² C. Aberdeen to Barton, 24 Jan. B. I, 88. The lords had previously sent an envoy with their proposals to the queen, which see Cal. B. VII, 25, and her equivocating answer, ib. 23. Among other demands they require the abolition of the *fut band*, or guard of infantry, which attended on James; which was refused, as Albany had always a similar defence. James IV seems to have dismissed the guard, used by his two predecessors. ³ C. Cal. B. VII, 75.

⁴ C. Cal. B. VI, 394.

ance⁵; and they declare that no letters of the king are to merit faith or obedience, till issued by a council chosen by the three estates. At the same time, as Caffils had brought from Wolsey to the chancellor a large promise, that, if he embraced the English interest, he should be appointed legate of Scotland, with the power of confirming all abbacies as Wolsey had in England⁶, it was thought expedient to inform Henry of their proceedings, in a letter⁷ bearing that the queen retained the sole guidance of her son, and the management of his revenues, offices for which the imprudent counsels, which she used, tended to disqualify her; that she would not grant them proper security for their safe appearance at Edinburgh: they therefore request support to their party, for if the queen will listen to useful advice, and give a proper education to her son, she shall remain chief of the council of state; but if not they hope that Henry will forgive their proceeding to other measures. In a private letter⁸ the chancellor requested Wolsey's influence with the pope, to prevent the archbishop of Glasgow from procuring an exemption from his see of St. Andrew's. Magnus, the English ambassador, exerted all his influence to conciliate the queen and the lords, and Angus wrote to him that he desired nothing with more ardour⁹: the chancellor desired to meet Magnus at Dunfermlin¹, and the conference paved the way to concord.

But this was not effected till after Margaret had in vain proposed to Arran, Murray, Eglinton, and Caffils, who were

⁵ See Cal. B. III, 60, the copy of a letter from Argyle to Drummond of Innerpeffery, 28 Jan. desiring him to meet the lords at Stirling, for the benefit of the commonwealth.

⁶ C. Instructions Wolsey to Caffils, B. I, 135. ⁷ O. B. VI, 430.

⁸ O. Archbishop of St. Andrew's to *my lord* of Cambuskenneth (the abbot,) B. III, 68. ⁹ O. B. III, 71.

¹ O. Archbishop of St. Andrew's to Magnus, 28 Jan. B. VI, 400.

with

1525 with her in the castle of Edinburgh, to raise their followers, and give battle to her opponents: which they refused, except the king were to proceed with them; a proposition not accepted by the queen, who dreaded that her son might thus escape from her custody². The magistrates and people of Edinburgh now invited Angus and Lennox to the capital; who arrived after midnight, with about seven hundred men, and were followed by the rest of the party, who had now determined to hold a convention there, instead of Stirling, and to confirm the peace with England, a measure wished by Magnus, who trusted them more than the queen's adherents³. The castle did not open its fire on the city, as was apprehended, the peers attached to Margaret beginning to wish for concord: Arran had a generous mind incapable of deadly enmity; Murray expected in marriage the daughter of Angus and the queen, and the ward of Huntley a young peer of extensive possessions; Eglinton was aged, and had only sought refuge in the castle as, on account of the slaughter of his son in the skirmish of 1520, a feud existed between his family and that of Angus: Cassils expected to be appointed by parliament one of the peers attendant on the king; the archbishop of Glasgow, and the bishop of Ross, were notoriously addicted to the French faction, and lent but a dubious support to Margaret; Maxwell was sincerely attached to James, and expected the abbey of Melrose for his son, or some kinsman⁴. The queen perceiving their fidelity doubtful, desired Magnus to confer with Angus, and to promise that, if her power were reserved, she would again impart her favour to him⁵. The lords gave in proposals, that James should be brought from the castle, a kind of prison, to the abbey a free palace; that the Scottish

² O. Magnus to Wolsey, 14 Feb. B. II, 112.

³ Ibid.

⁴ O. Magnus to Wolsey, 22 Feb. B. II, 51.

⁵ Ibid.

benefices should be disposed by a council of six, or eight, peers, ¹⁵²⁵ of which the queen was to be the chief, and have a casting vote, while all under the value of one thousand pounds were to continue at her sole disposal: that the guardianship of the king should devolve to a council of peers, appointed by the parliament and presided by Margaret: that Angus should not on pain of treason aspire to act as a husband, either with regard to the queen's person or lands. These offers having been suggested by Margaret were immediately accepted by her: Cassils, ^{21 Feb.} Eglinton, and Magnus, being her negotiators⁶. The power thus eventually passed to the chancellor, and Angus; though Margaret retained her nominal authority for more than twelve months after this period.

Yet Magnus, who knew that she had been the chief disturber of the marriage treaty proposed by Henry, (a treaty which might have proved advantageous to both countries, by uniting them half a century earlier under one sovereign,) justly suspected that she "would have some private way by herself, as before⁷." For, on the day after the agreement was signed, ^{22 Feb.} Margaret sent her confidential servant, John Cantaly⁸, to Albany, with letters and instructions; which, on their remission to Rome by the duke, in the ensuing June, with letters to the pontiff soliciting the queen's divorce, and the disposal of the benefices of Scotland, were intercepted in the duchy of Milan, and sent to England⁹, where Margaret never afterwards found confidence or favour. She gives to Albany the appellation of regent; professes her good intentions towards him and France;

⁶ Ibid. and the various transactions relative to the agreement, B. III, 102.

⁷ The same letter of Magnus to Wolfey.

⁸ Archdeacon of St. Andrew's: see the letter from Albany to Octavian, about to be mentioned.

⁹ See copies and extracts from the various letters, Cal. B. VI, 416.

that,

1525 that, though an embassy had been sent to Henry, nothing should be done, except France were comprehended: she desires to know what aid she may expect from that kingdom, for she cannot agree with Angus: and if France will assist her, she will embrace the interests of that country, and shall in the mean time provide that no peace be made with England, till an answer be given: that, rather than be reconciled to Angus as her brother desires, she will leave Scotland: and she concludes with requesting strict secrecy, and that her letters be not remitted to England, as had been done on a former occasion. From these letters Albany seized an opportunity to instruct one Octavian, his agent at Rome, to represent to the pontiff that he was still acknowledged regent of Scotland, and capacitated to reap the rich harvest of presentations to benefices; he at the same time desired him to promote the queen's divorce, which the archdeacon of St. Andrew's had been sent to Rome to solicit. It is impossible to vindicate the conduct of Margaret upon this occasion, for it was nefarious in an eminent degree. To gratify her resentments against her brother, and her avarice of French gold, she attempts to promote a civil war; she offers to sacrifice the best interests of her son, the eternal advantages of his kingdom. This depravity must have stung her to the soul, when, in the course of a short week or two, she had occasion to reflect that it was gratuitous and vain; as, within two days after the date of the instructions, Francis was lamenting in captivity the rash field of Pavia, which threatened the ruin of his kingdom, and was

¹ Do the following expressions of Albany proceed from misinformation, or an intention to mislead? "L'on a fait Monseigneur d'Angoux (Angus), en mon absence, protecteur du pays."—"Le roi garde d'Arguil (Argyle), Chasselley (Cassilis), et aultres grans personnages."—"Il me desire plus que jamais."

for years to prevent such exertions in Scotland as Margaret ¹⁵²⁵ desired. }

The agreement between the queen and the lords was no sooner adjusted, than a parliament met at Edinburgh. Angus bore the crown, Arran the sceptre, Argyle the sword; the first and second of these peers being now reconciled, though Margaret wished to prolong their dissention². One of the earliest transactions of this parliament was, to ratify the bond of concord. A council, denominated secret in the record, was ^{25 Feb.} then chosen, to govern the king and the realm, consisting of the archbishops of St. Andrew's and Glasgow, the bishops of Aberdeen and Dumblane, the earls Angus, Arran, Argyle, Lennox; two of whom were to attend for three months in rotation, while the queen was to be the perpetual president, and to retain the casting vote³. Several other favours were also granted to Margaret; but her authority henceforth became more nominal than real, the favour of Henry, its sole support, being transferred to the peers. Nor could the event be otherwise, when she pertinaciously opposed her brother's warmest wish, the marriage treaty and perpetual peace; and even behaved to Magnus his ambassador with contempt or neglect, except when she could procure money from no other source⁴. To Angus she now affected kindness, but solely with a view to persuade him to consent to a divorce, the object of her endeavours for seven years⁵. He, on the other hand, violated his engagements by applying to Wolsey⁶ for ^{8 March} the favour of England in his desire to seize his wife's lands, and to be received as her husband, as a reward for having won

² O. Magnus to Wolsey, 9 March, Cal. B. II, 47.

³ Ibid. Keith's Hist. App. 9, 10. Craw. Off. 67. Less. 416.

⁴ O. Magnus to Wolsey, B. II, 47. ⁵ Ibid.

⁶ O. Angus to Wolsey, 8 March, B. I, 98.

1525 } most of the Scottish peers from the interests of France. At the same time the chancellor informed the cardinal⁷ that the young king was led astray by favourites, and his education was in many points become defective : but that his own endeavours should not be wanting to promote the peace ; for which purpose he offered to take the embassy on himself, and desired a safe conduct for himself and a hundred attendants ; he at the same time reminded Wolsey of the promised dignities, and expressed his obligations that the archbishop of Glasgow had not been supported, in his claim of exemption from the metropolitan fee.

While James, and some peers of the council, made a progress of justice on the north of the Tay, the chancellor and Angus remained at Edinburgh to repress the disorders of the frontiers⁸. The latter anxiously maintained his correspondence with Henry ; and desired that the smallest presents, such as bows, arrows, hunting horns, purses, sent by that king to his nephew, should be transmitted through his hands, that he might win favor with James, and at the same time conciliate him with his uncle, against whom Margaret had

⁷ O. James *Primate of Scotland* to Wolsey, 9 March 1525, B. VI, 425. Same to same, 15 March 1525, ib. 422. The reflections on James's education seem levelled at his rival the archbishop of Glasgow ; who also applied to Wolsey, to establish his exemption from the jurisdiction of the primate, pleading among other points, " I was techour, and eruditor, to our soverand lord." O. 20 Feb. III, 135.

In another letter from Beton to Wolsey, 29 March, B. VII, 96, he represents that the defect in the commission to Cassils proceeded from the queen, and not from his party ; but as the parliament had sanctioned the peace, no other determination could be taken, except by another parliament : so that the Scottish parliament had decidedly, and directly, the grand right of peace or war. He requires a larger safe conduct, with power to pass to other realms and to Rome ; a form which he must have known could not be granted.

⁸ O. Beton to Wolsey, 29 March, above quoted.

lately much prejudiced his youthful mind⁹. The tidings of ¹⁵²⁵ the battle of Pavia had now arrived in Scotland, to the great ^{31 Mar.} consternation of the French faction: the queen did not even congratulate the English envoy¹. But for this neglect there were more cogent causes than her attachment to France. Henry, irritated beyond measure at her private conduct, in endeavouring a divorce, and in her indecent love for Henry Stuart; and at her public, in thwarting all his schemes for a lasting peace with Scotland; indulged his imperious temper in a letter, replete with indignation and contempt. So poignant were its expressions that, on opening it, the tears gushed into her eyes; she could hardly read; and, after weeping for an hour, she said, "such a letter was never written to a noble woman;" she then informed Magnus that she would receive no more letters from her brother, except in a placid style, for such another would prove her death. Her duplicity in vain disavowed all attachment to France, or Albany. She answered Henry with patient remonstrances, being always too submissive in adversity, and too haughty in prosperity: her divorce she represented as beyond her power to prevent, the papal mandates being arrived, and the plea in an advanced state². She afterwards joined her son at Dundee; and the peers of the council became not a little jealous of her influence over him³, April
Yet her adherents were few, consisting chiefly of those formerly most attached to Albany; and she in vain wished for a

⁹ O. Angus to Wolsey, 29 March, B. VI, 431.

¹ O. Magnus to Wolsey, Edin. 31 March, B. VII, 3. Angus rejoiced at the victory, and offered to attend Henry to France, with one thousand followers: ib.

² Ibid. C. Margaret to Henry, B. VII, 65. She complains bitterly that, after losing Albany's support, she should be abandoned by Henry. But such are the effects of duplicity.

³ O. Magnus to Wolsey, 10 April, Cal. B. VII, 1.

1525 war with England to be revenged on her adversaries ⁴. When
 June the king returned to Edinburgh, she would not approach the capital, alledging fear of Angus, and demanding from him a new security, that he should not pretend to her person or lands ⁵. Nor were the lords of the secret council strictly concordant; for the chancellor's ambition prompting him to procure letters from the king to the pope, recommending his promotion to the rank of cardinal, Angus and Lennox were enraged at his aspiring to such superiority ⁶.

The chancellor was little sincere in his pretensions of proceeding as ambassador to England; and to cover his guile he desired safe conducts in a form which could not be granted. But the truces had been gradually extended to the fifteenth day of May ⁷; and thence were to be prolonged till October, when a pacification of three years was ordained. The marriage treaty was defeated by the queen's influence with her son. Nay, in the parliament which was held in July this year, she refused to come to Edinburgh, in order to ratify a recent truce, as president of the council of state, though security was offered

⁴ O. Same to same, 19 April, B. VII, 61. Were the queen in authority again, says Magnus, she will be too high, or too low, as before; now that she can do little, she wishes to please her brother, when much, not. He adds in cypher that Scotland is unprepared for war, so every exertion may be safely made against France. In another dispatch of the 31st May, B. II, 35, Magnus informs Wolsey that Margaret persists in her attachment to Henry Stuart, to weak counsellors, and to the French party; that he has paid Angus 100*l.* Scots (25*l.* *st.*) for his services; that Lennox, a most powerful peer, is well inclined to England. The ambassador had offered twenty marks sterling of yearly rent, for his house in Edinburgh: and he desires pensions from England, of 20*l.* a year each, to Patrick Sinclair, John Chesolm, and Adam Ottirburn.

⁵ O. Angus to Henry, 8 June, Cal. B. I, 91. C. Robert Logan to Magnus, B. III, 136. ⁶ Logan to Magnus, *ib.*

⁷ Rymer, XIV, 35. A letter of Beton to Dacre on the subject, 28 May 1525, occurs in Cal. B. VII, 56.

for her safety; upon which it was openly proposed to deprive ¹⁵²⁵ her of her authority: but James laudably answered, in her defence, that the fault was too light for such a punishment, and that her signature might be delayed. It was therefore settled that the deed should be esteemed valid without her name, if not affixed within a certain time⁸. She was now in treaty with Louisa of Savoy, mother of Francis, and regent of his kingdom during his captivity, expecting from the congeniality of sex, and character, a more successful negotiation. Margaret represented herself as possessing the government of Scotland; and offered to bind that country in a firm alliance with France, on condition of a sum of money paid down, and an annual pension⁹. She was most unfortunate in her procedures, for an alliance between France and England was now in deliberation, and was actually signed on the thirtieth of August¹; Wolfey being enraged against the emperor, because he was disappointed in his expectation of the pontifical chair. Magnus in the mean time found his residence in Scotland disagreeable, heinous murders abounding even in the capital, where he was so odious to a superstitious populace, that he was insulted; and even the bad harvest weather was imputed to the portentous appearance of an English envoy, residing in Scotland for near twelve months². Yet he had the satisfaction of seeing the president of Tholouse, ambassador from France, received with great coldness by James, having probably omitted any pecuniary supply³.

The perpetual peace between England and France extinguished for a time the hopes and pursuits of the French faction,

⁸ O. Magnus to Wolfey, Edin. 9 Aug. Cal. B. III, 169. For this parliament see Keith's Hist. App. p. 10; Carmichael's Tracts, Edin. 1791, 4to, p. 95; the lords of the articles were Angus, Arran, Argyle, Morton, Lennox, Murray, Cassils. It met on the 10th July.

⁹ O. Magnus to Wolfey, Edin. 9 Sept. B. II, 63.

¹ Rymer, XIV, 48.

² O. Magnus to Wolfey, Sept. B. II, 61.

³ O. Same to same, 9 Sept. II, 63.

and

1525 and opened the way for a more solid pacification between
 { Henry and James. Accordingly the archbishop of Glasgow,
 and the earl of Angus, with other commissioners, proceeded
 10 Oct. to Berwick, where a truce of three years was determined,
 the authentic instruments to be interchanged by the middle of
 the ensuing January, from which period the term of peace
 was to be reckoned ⁴.

The death of the able and experienced lord Dacre of Gillef-
 land, or of the north, deserves a memorial from a work so
 much indebted to his writings ⁵. His intrigues were however
 no longer necessary to maintain the superiority of the English
 influence in Scotland. Margaret was to retain but for a few
 months of the succeeding year the presidency of the secret
 council, and the nominal chief power: the chancellor and
 Angus, whose ascendant succeeded, were to manifest more
 firm devotion to England.

1526 In vain did the queen and Arran, to whose views of esta-
 blishing a connection with France the pacification with Eng-
 land was destructive, use every effort to defeat the completion
 of that transaction. Margaret's enmity to her brother was ex-
 treme; nor did the alliance, which he had just concluded with
 France, prevent her from endeavouring to kindle a war between
 England and Scotland, by which alone she could hope to de-
 stroy the English influence which supported her enemies. Ar-
 ran, though in appearance reconciled to Angus, remained
 firmly attached to Margaret; and shared her resentment against
 Henry, whose confidence he had never won, and whom he

⁴ See Rymer, XIV, 114.

⁵ O. Cumberland to Wolsey, 14 Nov. B. VII, 59. O. Council at York
 to Wolsey, 22 Nov. ib. 71. Thomas lord Dacre died on the 25th Oct. 1525.
 Dugdale's Bar. art. Dacre of the North. Naworth castle was the chief resi-
 dence. The estates afterwards passed, by marriage, to the Howards earls of
 Carlisle.

had irritated by his pride during his short-lived power. James ¹⁵²⁶ had no sooner signed the commission for completing the peace ^{6 Jan.} of October ⁶, than his mother, who had, from the fear of Angus, remained in the north of Scotland, and Arran who had retired to his estates on the west, resolved to have recourse even to force, in order to prevent the ratification of the treaty. Nor was their faction unformidable, the queen having secured the attachment of Murray, now the most powerful peer in the north; while Arran was already joined by Eglinton, Ross, Sempil, Evandale, Home, and others ⁷. The latter peers advanced to Linlithgow, with their followers, to the amount of four or five thousand, where they awaited the arrival of ^{10 Jan.} Margaret and Murray for some days; and at the same time probably expected the junction of a far greater number of the discontented. The hope was vain; the delay was ruinous. The chancellor, and the bishop of Aberdeen, having in vain attempted to conciliate the parties, James himself, accompanied by Angus, Argyle, and Lennox, and about five thousand men, advanced through the snows of winter against the rebels. No sooner did the royal standard flash in their eyes than they fled. Margaret and Murray, advancing too late, ^{about 17 Jan.} she could only join in the flight of Arran to Hamilton; while Murray, affecting to believe that the queen had deceived him by misrepresentation, proceeded to Linlithgow, and joined the party of Angus. The latter peer, in informing Magnus of this event, assures him that he shall still endeavour to be reconciled with the queen, and shall not challenge her conduct upon this occasion ⁸.

⁶ Rymer, XIV, 113.

⁷ O. Magnus to Wolsey, Edin. 11 Jan. 1526, Cal. B. II, 114. O. Angus to Magnus, 20 Jan. B. II, 249. O. Ottirburn to Magnus, 19 Jan. ib. 250.

⁸ Ibid. particularly Angus to Magnus. Lesley, 417, 418, is erroneous and unchronological: he confounds some circumstances with those of the contest in September this year.

The

1526 The pacification of three years with England was concluded
 on the fifteenth of January; and was ratified by James on the
 twelfth day of February⁹. Magnus, in an interesting letter
 11 Feb. to the queen on this occasion¹, sent her the clause in which
 Henry had insisted on a provision for her, suitable to her high
 station, and that her conjunct feofments should be continued:
 he also informs her that if Angus should, as her husband,
 claim the feofment, it was evinced by the chancellor, the
 bishop of Aberdeen, and other lords of the council, that she
 had sufficient causes for a divorce, and that Angus should be
 obliged to consent; or should agree to submit the arrangement
 of the endowed lands wholly to the direction of James and the
 council; nay he had himself offered to submit any matter in
 dispute to her own brother. The ambassador therefore advises
 her to concord and tranquillity: and informs her of some points
 concealed from her by flattery, such as that she embittered the
 mind of the king, who used often to shed tears, and shew anger
 to the lords, when he remained with her, whereas no such
 symptoms had appeared since she had resided in the north: he
 therefore hopes that, when she meets her son again, she will
 advise him to be gracious to the peers, and that she will not
 join any party in their disputes.

The period, and manner, in which Angus usurped the supreme power in the state, which he maintained for two years, have been most inaccurately detailed by our historians, ancient and modern. Nor do our original letters throw much light on this interesting event; while on his fall they dart a complete effulgence. In attempting to supply the want of materials, some previous considerations must be admitted. By the act

⁹ Rymer, XIV, 115, 122.

¹ C. Cal. B. VII, 38. The rarity of the original letters now commences; and continues, with the exception of 1528, to the end of this reign.

of July 1525², Angus and the archbishop of Glasgow were 1526
 to remain with the king till the first of November; Arran
 and the bishop of Aberdeen till the beginning of February
 1526; the chancellor and Argyle till May; Lennox and the
 bishop of Dumblane till August; when the circle recommenced.
 But Angus was also warden of the marches, an office attended
 with great authority: while on the other hand in the absence
 of the queen, who could not venture to approach the capital,
 a chief seat of the influence of Angus, the chancellor appears
 to have been perpetual president of the council of state; and
 Magnus ever mentions, and addresses, him as possessed of the
 highest power. During the affair of Linlithgow the earl of
 Arran ought to have been with the king in the capital; but as
 Angus had hastened to conclude the peace with England before
 his quarter expired, so he feared that Arran would defeat that
 measure during his period of power, and seems to have used
 such endeavours against that peer's assertion of his right, that
 he was forced to an ineffectual recourse to arms. In the field
 which ensued, Angus only appears to have marched by the
 desire of the chancellor and council, (and particularly the
 bishop of Aberdeen who was joined with Arran,) in order to
 defeat an attempt to overturn their decisions concerning the
 pacification; nor is any crime on this account imputed to him
 in his forfeiture, or by our historians. The council of state
 continued to exercise its full power, even against Angus him-
 self. Magnus addressed the chancellor, and the council³, par- 11 Feb.
 ticularly the bishop of Aberdeen, Argyle and Lennox, in a
 warm remonstrance against Angus in his capacity of warden
 of the marches, who had received sufficient redress from the

² See it in Keith's Hist. App. p. 10.

³ C. Cal. B. VII, 48, and the distinct letters to the lords, C. Cal. B. VII, 46.

1526 English warden the earl of Westmoreland, but had granted
 none in return, being influenced to this injustice by Scot of
 Buccleugh and Mark Ker; he therefore desires the council to
 replace the good order, which prevailed before Angus was
 warden, as the poor on the marches were undone by his non-
 attendance on the march days. The council answered that
 16 Feb. they had sharply reprimanded Angus; and he had promised to
 comply with their injunctions for redress⁴. The particular
 answers of the chancellor, the bishop of Aberdeen, Argyle,
 and Lennox, are also extant⁵, all to the same purport: and
 Aberdeen expresses the firm inclination of the Scots to main-
 tain the peace just ratified; and the desire of James that his
 mother should have a proper security from Angus, that she
 should not be molested in her person or lands. The em-
 1 March bassador soon after represented to Wolsey that the chancellor
 being the most powerful man in Scotland, and now the chief
 friend of the English interest, he should endeavour to accom-
 plish his promises of procuring for him, from the pontiff, the
 dignities of cardinal and legate⁶: but Wolsey's envy was little
 inclined to such equality of title.

Angus, who appears to have retained his high honour of
 husband to the queen, solely with a view to enjoy her revenues,
 finding that this usurpation was not to be continued, without
 forfeiting Henry's favour; a clause of the late peace, and the
 decision of the council also opposing his avaricious views, at
 length consented to the divorce, which was pronounced by the
 chancellor at St. Andrew's, upon the vain ground of a previous

⁴ O. Cal. B. VII, 30. The matter was "put sharply to his charge." The disorders of Lidsdale they impute to the minority of the earl of Bothwell: the prior of St. Andrew's was his guardian. This paper is signed "Gude, de mandato dominorum secreti concilii."

⁵ All originals, ib. 32, 33, 36.

⁶ O. Cal. B. II, 99.

promise of marriage by Angus to another lady⁷, while all the nation knew that solid grounds of separation arose from the adulteries of both. Hardly was the divorce pronounced before Margaret wedded Henry Stuart her paramour, afterwards to be created lord Methven⁸. Henry her brother, now perhaps revolving his own divorce from Catherine of Arragon, could not reprobate the example, but envied her change of situation, while he despised the meanness of her nuptials. Yet James, incensed at Stuart's presumption, the marriage having been private, and the royal consent not requested, sent lord Erskine with a body of men to the castle of Stirling, where his mother resided with her new husband; and Margaret surrendering him, he was imprisoned for a time⁹. 1526
March

At this epoch Angus was on the borders, whither he had marched to repress the disorders of the Armstrongs, then the most powerful and ferocious of the clans on the frontiers; but being protected by the Kers of Tivendale, and by lord Maxwell, the warden of the western marches, the freebooters defied his power¹. Magnus, the English ambassador, now left Scotland, after a residence of a year and a half; during which he had conducted the affairs entrusted to his care with eminent moderation and ability. April

The consideration of the steps which led Angus to the supreme power must now be resumed. He had sedulously cultivated the favour of the young king, by presents, and by every attention and indulgence, which could secure his unexperienced affections; and the necessary residence of the monarch in the

⁷ Lessl. 419.
Cal. B. VII, 28.

⁸ Ibid. O. Lord William Dacre to Wolfsey, 2 April,
⁹ Letter last quoted.

¹ Ibid. The Scottish council had issued a proclamation of strict neutrality, towards the ships of France, and those of Spain and Flanders, subject to the emperor, then at war with their ancient ally: ib.

1526 capital, where, as in all the south of Scotland, the influence of Angus was unrivalled, further promoted his design. James regarded the marriage of his mother as an insult; and the variance was increased by her rage at the imprisonment of her husband. Amid these dispositions, Angus was secure of his ascendant over the king's mind; and the secret council formed the only obstacle to his ambition. By some precedents in France and Scotland the majority of a monarch was determined to commence at his fourteenth year, which James had attained in the preceding April; the object therefore was to summon a parliament, in which the majority of James should be declared, and the powers of the secret council in consequence annulled. Nor could either the parliament, or council, oppose with decency a decree strictly constitutional, and agreeable to the wish of the nation, disgusted with the constant struggles, and with the discordant measures, of successive jundos.

17 June Angus having prepared his plan, a parliament met at Edinburgh, on the thirteenth of June²; and on the fifth day of its session, passed an ordinance³, bearing that as the king had now attained his complete majority of fourteen years, the whole regal prerogatives rested in his own hands: and all other authority, formerly used in his name, is declared to be terminated. This decree, for the causes above recited, in fact threw the supreme power into the hands of Angus.

The precipitate marriage of Margaret ruined her influence; and Arran had abandoned her desperate cause to join the chancellor, his relation, and Angus. This accession afforded a

² Carm. Tracts, p. 91.

³ See it in Crawford's Officers, p. 67, 68. In the letters of July 1528, (see that epoch,) and the act against Angus, July 1528, Crawf. 70, it is mentioned that he had retained his power for TWO YEARS; so that the commencement of his authority is ascertained beyond doubt.

great additional weight of power, and Angus carefully endeavoured to preserve the attachment of Arran. The chancellor ¹⁵²⁶ was now less necessary to the support of Angus, who began to manifest his ascendancy by heaping royal favours upon his own family, and by neglecting the chancellor, and some other members of the late council, who had expected to share the spoils. The impetuous nature of Sir George Douglas, brother to Angus, and by whose councils he was wholly guided, changed his influence over the king into a kind of constraint; and James sighed when he beheld his former flatterers transformed into his goalers⁴. The ancient power of the Douglasses seemed to have revived, and after a slumber of near a century, again to threaten destruction to the Scottish monarchy.

On his first assumption of the authority, Angus had excited discontent by assigning the opulent abbacy of Holyroodhouse to William, his brother, who already possessed by intrusion that of Coldingham⁵. The faction, and even the name of the leader, were further stained by the base assassination of Patrick Blackader, archdeacon of Dumblane, cousin of the prior of Coldingham, whose murder by Home of Wedderburn is above narrated. Patrick, though he had a safe conduct from Angus to come to Edinburgh, was slain by the Homes and Douglasses, at the very gates of the capital⁶.

Meanwhile the disorders of the Armstrongs, and other marauders on the frontiers, continuing, Angus resolved to conduct the king in person to repress them. James, having advanced to Jedburgh, remained there three days without much effect: and, on the fourth day, was returning by Melrose, when on a sudden, Walter Scot of Buccleugh appeared, 25 July

⁴ This previous information, necessary to the clearness of the narrative, will be authenticated by subsequent letters.

⁵ Buch. XIV, 26.

⁶ Ibid. See the particulars in Hume's House of Douglas, I, 86, 87.

with

1526 with a thousand armed followers. This powerful border chieftain was a retainer of Lennox, a circumstance which unites with succeeding events, to vindicate the opinion entertained by our historians, that Buccleugh intended to rescue the king from the inferior force of Angus. A messenger passed to Scot to enquire the reason of his appearance with such a company. The answer was, that he only designed to shew his bands to the king, as not unusual among the border chieftains, when that part of his dominions was graced with the royal presence. He was then commanded, in the name of the monarch, to dismiss his followers: but he replied that he was better informed of the king's intentions. Angus, perceiving a conflict unavoidable, ordered his followers, (many of whom were gentlemen, who, by their armour and courage, supplied the inferiority of number,) to alight, as usual with the Scots, who rarely fought on horseback, excepting the trained cavalry, whose weapons were peculiar, and whose steeds were enured to the noise and tumult of battle. Lennox, Maxwell, and Sir George Douglas formed a guard around James, who retired to an eminence. Angus, Fleming, Home, Ker of Cessford, led on their bands against those of Buccleugh, now also alighted from their steeds. The conflict was brief: Buccleugh's borderers, after throwing their spears, fled in confusion, and about eighty of them were slain: their chief, after a strenuous contest, were forced to retire, but not without the slaughter of many of his enemies. The death of Ker of Cessford, a man of worth, was regreted by both parties⁷.

Angus triumphed in his victory: and Lennox, being suspected, retired from the court. The chancellor meanwhile found his power diminished by Angus, who had even constrained

⁷ Less. 419—421. Buch. XIV, 27. Lindsay, 210.

James to write to Henry, and the pope, that Beton having endeavoured to render him a captive in his own dominions, he had been obliged to have recourse to the protection of the Douglasses⁸: and the artful primate projected a more decisive plan of delivering the king, and regaining his own influence. James therefore sent letters to his mother, the chancellor, and Lennox, testifying his desire of freedom⁹: and the queen in vain wrote to her brother, and to Wolsey, as in the name of her son, to desire assistance against Angus¹. 1526
21 Aug.

Meanwhile Lennox was preparing for a decisive effort, to redeem his sovereign from the power of the Douglasses; and being a man of the most amiable manners, and excellent character, his people crowded to his standard. Many bands from Fife, and the north, instigated by the queen and the chancellor, also swelled his army. With a force of ten or twelve thousand² he advanced to Stirling, where he concerted matters with the chancellor, and other lords attached to his cause; and thence towards Linlithgow, where he found Arran, who had proceeded by the desire of Angus, with more than an equal number. It was hoped by the Douglasses that, as Lennox was the sister's son of Arran, their affinity might induce the former to listen to the intercession of his uncle, whose force was besides sufficient to shew that the enterprize was vain; and that thereby the envy of a contest with Lennox, a peer universally beloved, might have been averted. But this hope proved fallacious; 3 Sept. the rage of Lennox being increased by his kinsman, and friend, appearing as his open enemy, and in defence of a cause, in

⁸ O. Margaret to Henry, 21 Aug. B. VIII, 159. ⁹ Ibid.

¹ Ibid. and O. Margaret to Wolsey, ib. 160.

² Lindsay, 212, seems exact in his enumeration: "multo: eoque lectissimo milite," says Lesley, 421: Buch. XIV, 28, also speaks of a great number.

itself

1526 itself unjust, and to him personally oppressive. Arran, per-
 ceiving the negotiation fruitless, dispatched as had been settled
 between them a messenger to Angus, then at Edinburgh, with
 4 Sept. the king. The trumpets instantly sounded to arms; the royal
 standard was unfurled; and James was forced to mount his
 horse, and lead the bands of Douglas against his own friends.
 On pretext of indisposition he delayed the march as much as
 possible; and the impatience of Angus advanced, leaving the
 king to the care of sir George his brother, whose violent spirit
 gave on this occasion an offence to the mind of his young
 sovereign never to be eradicated. For, on passing Corstorphin,
 the sound of the artillery was heard announcing the
 commencement of the conflict; and sir George having in vain
 intreated the king to use speed, he at length burst into this
 rash expression, "Should our enemies vanquish, rather than
 surrender your person, we should tear you in halves."

Arran had seized the bridge across the river Avon, about a
 mile to the west of Linlithgow, so that Lennox was forced to
 have recourse to the ford opposite to the nunnery of Manuel.
 His men were harassed by the difficult passage; and their
 adversaries possessing the adjacent heights, the disadvantage of
 the combat was great. But when the shout of Douglas! arose,
 upon the approach of Angus, the troops of Lennox yielded or
 fled. The king had in vain dispatched sir Andrew Wood, to
 request that the life of Lennox might be saved. On advancing
 into the field, Arran was found weeping over the body of his
 slaughtered kinsman, upon which he had spread his scarlet
 cloke, and exclaiming with anguish, "The wisest, the best,
 the bravest man in Scotland has fallen!" Besides Lennox, there

³ Buch. XIV, 28, confirmed by Lesley, 422.

were slain the abbots of Melrose and Dunfermlin, the baron of ¹⁵²⁶ Houston, and Stirling of Keir ⁴.

Angus availed himself of this victory, which secured to him the chief power of Scotland, and marched to Stirling, to seize the queen, and the chancellor ⁵. But they had fled to secret places; and Angus, advancing to Fife, pillaged the abbey of Dunfermlin, and the castle of St. Andrew's, while the chancellor, if we credit Lindsay, lurked among the mountains in the disguise of a shepherd ⁶.

Henry congratulated Angus, and Arran, on their victory; ^{21 Sept.} promised them his advices concerning the proper education of his nephew; and exhorted them to crush their enemies, among whom he points out the chancellor as the chief, and as a man who sought their destruction, and endeavoured to plunge his country into the abysses of war ⁷.

Thus encouraged, Angus issued the royal writs for a parliament, which met at Edinburgh on the twelfth of November; ^{Nov.} and proceeded to pass an act in vindication of the conduct of Angus and Arran in the late battle against Lennox ⁸: and ample

⁴ Lindsay, 215, Lessl. 422, Buch. ib. Magnus, now in England, in a letter to Wolsey, 13 Sept. B. II, 107, mentions those names; but Stirling of Keir may be doubted, as in Sept. 1528 John Stirling of Keir had his forfeited property restored: Scotst. Cal. Yet he might be the heir. Magnus adds that Angus and Arran had been in concord, ever since the slaughter of sir Patrick Hamilton by Angus had been compromised.

Lennox was slain by sir James Hamilton, after he had yielded. Lindsay, ib.

⁵ Lessl. 422. ⁶ Lessl. ib. Lindsay, 216, "but they could not find the bishop, for he was keeping sheep on Bogrian-now (hill,) with shepherd's clothes upon him, like as he had been a shepherd himself."

⁷ O. Sir Thomas More to Wolsey, 21 Sept. B. VII, 67, with Henry's orders to that effect.

⁸ To be found in Crawford's Officers, App. p. 437. The precise date of the commencement of this parliament occurs in a letter of Christopher Dacre

1526 ample forfeitures against all the enemies of the house of Douglas. James interceded for his mother, and even invited her to Edinburgh, where she arrived on the twentieth day of the month, the king with a numerous train advancing to meet her. The skillful chancellor made his peace with Angus and Arran, by affected submission, and by giving to the former two thousand marks, to the latter the abbey of Kilwinning. But the lands of the earl of Cassils, and lord Evandale, were assigned to the custody of Arran; while those of lord Lindsay, and all those chiefs of the east and north, who had been in the field with Lennox, were given to Angus; the two victorious peers being to adjust their ransom at their pleasure. Those of Stirling of Keir were forfeited, and bestowed on sir George Douglas. Argyle and Crawford did not appear in this parliament, being probably suspected of favouring the cause of Lennox. After having sitten for fourteen days, the national council was "continued with all the summonses of the three estates," or in other words, was prorogued, till the eighth day of January⁹. The country was in the mean time a prey to all manner of injustice, the favour of a Douglas being superior to all law. A baron who had slain another at the door of St. Giles's, the chief church in the capital, had the effrontery to walk in the streets of Edinburgh during the whole session of parliament¹. But the people flattered themselves

to lord Dacre, 2 Dec. B. VI, 420: see also Carmichael's Tracts, p. 91, and the Acts of 1567, edit. 1575, f. v. 23, for a statute of this session against incendiaries.

⁹ All these particulars are derived from the letter last quoted, Cal. B. VI, 420.

¹ Ibid. "The laird of Langthenbar, who slew the laird of Bondbye." Maclane of Bomby slain by sir John Campbell? Less. 422. Douglas, Peerage, 369, mentions a remission, 1529, to sir James Gordon of Lochinvar, sir James Douglas of Drumlanrig, and 37 others, for the slaughter of Maclellan of Bomby, committed in the city of Edinburgh.

that,

that, if Margaret remained with her son, a change of measures ¹⁵²⁶ might succeed; for it was publicly known that the king had no affection for Angus nor Arran². Offices were now crowded upon the house of Douglas: sir Archibald Douglas of Kilspindy, uncle to Angus, was appointed lord treasurer³; and sir George Douglas, master of the royal household⁴. Arran advanced in years and stung with repentance for the death of Lennox, now left the court, and abandoned the government wholly to Angus⁵.

Of the meeting of parliament in January no memorial remains. Margaret continued at Edinburgh with her son; but the universal awe of the house of Douglas was now too great, the disasters which its enmity inferred too recent, for any new scheme to be undertaken for the deliverance of James, which seemed hopeless. Among the king's favourites Patrick Sinclair⁶ was the chief: he had been trusted by his mother, and James long continued his attachment to his name, which in the end became fatal to his reign: but the origin of this favoritism is not explained. The queen having insisted that lady Evandale, her husband's mother, should be received at court, ¹⁵²⁷ James rejected her request, upon which she left Edinburgh in disgust⁷. ^{March}

A parliament met in May⁸; but its transactions are unrecorded. The disorders on the frontiers still continuing, so as to

² Letter, B. VI, 420.

³ Crawf. Off. 371, from the grant dated 29 Oct. 1526. ⁴ Lindsay, 205.

⁵ As appears from his being unmentioned, till the king assumed the power in July 1528. Arran had distinguished himself since the year 1500.

⁶ O. Magnus to Wolsey, 26 March, Cal. B. III, 301.

⁷ Ibid. The archbishop Beton had retired from the court.

⁸ Carmichael's Tracts, p. 91, where it is remarkable that Cassils is mentioned as present, though his lands were assigned to Arran in the preceding November,

1527 to threaten an interruption of the peace with England, which
 { Angus sedulously maintained, it was esteemed indispensable to
 May suppress them. Preparations were accordingly made; and the
 bands of Angus and Arran had marched to Edinburgh to at-
 tend the king, when an unexpected incident had almost turned
 their swords upon each other. A groom of the late earl of
 Lennox, of heroic attachment to his master, who had fallen
 by the cruel hand of sir James Hamilton after he had yielded,
 came to Edinburgh; where, meeting a fellow servant, he
 enquired if he had seen the bastard of Arran? being answered
 in the affirmative, he replied, "Ungrateful wretch! couldst
 thou behold the murderer of our master without stabbing him
 to the heart? Begone; disgrace me not by thy base company."
 He then proceeded to the palace of Holyroodhouse, in the
 open area before which not less than two thousand attendants
 of the houses of Douglas and Hamilton were, at that hour,
 mustered for the expedition. Piercing through the crowd, he

(Letter of Christopher Dacre:) and according to Lesley, he was slain by the
 sheriff of Air, soon after the death of Lennox in 1526. Buchanan, who was
 tutor to his son, (Life, p. 2,) narrates XIV, 30, the death of Cassils, assas-
 sinated by Hugh Campbell sheriff of Air, at some length, and he fixes it at the
 same epoch. It may be thought that he of 1527 was the heir, but he was
 "adhuc impubes," Buch. XIV, 30; and the name does not appear again in the
 rolls of parliament, till 1535, Carm. 92. As Christopher Dacre is silent con-
 cerning the death of Cassils, and the records mention him in May 1527, it
 may be suspected that Lesley and Buchanan err in the year; and that he was not
 slain till towards the end of 1527. Douglas, Peer. 136, seems rightly to say
 that he was murdered at Prestick, 22 Dec. 1527.

It is remarkable that, in Dec. 1544, a remission was issued in parliament to
 William earl of Glencairn, Gilbert earl of Cassils, and Hugh Campbell of
 Loudoun, sheriff of Air, for all treasons committed by them during the reign of
 James V. Epist. R. S. II, 320. It may seem that Campbell succeeded sir
 James Hamilton as sheriff of Air in 1540, and is so styled by historians at 1526,
 only by an unchronological, though common, mode of language.

saw

saw fir James Hamilton, alone and unarmed, leave his people, ¹⁵²⁷ and enter the palace by a dark staircase near the gate: he instantly followed, and attacking the object of his revenge, he left him extended with six severe wounds, none of which however proved mortal, and then sprung over among the populace. An alarm arising, the Douglasses and Hamiltons began to suspect each other, and a private revenge might have served the nation, had not the more prudent ordered the gates of the area to be shut, and the crowd to arrange themselves along the walls. Discovered by his bloody dagger, the generous assassin was seized, and conducted to goal; where, on menaces of the torture, he confessed that his sole motive was to avenge his master's fall, his sole regret that he had not succeeded. He was put to death with cruel torments, none of which had any power over his firm mind; and when his right hand was cut off, he said, with a sarcastic smile, that it deserved its fate for fulfilling so ill so bold an intent.⁹

The king, proceeding to Jedburgh, constrained the borderers, particularly the Armstrongs, a clan rendered opulent by their frequent spoils in England, to give pledges for their peaceable behaviour; and then dismissed them with strict injunctions, and the severest menaces in case of future disobedience.¹⁰ Angus had apparently assumed the office of chancellor at the commencement of the parliament of May, having at length withdrawn the seals from Beton, after in vain attempting to unite that rich and powerful primate to his party; and it is certain that in August the earl appears in that high station.¹¹ This additional power only increased the constraint of James; who in vain repeatedly applied to his uncle to assist in his de-

7 June

⁹ Buch. XIV, 31. Less. 426. ¹ Less. 426.

² Crawf. Off. 68, from a charter in the Scottish archives, dated 8 Aug. 1527.

liverance;

1527 liverance; while Henry was rather disposed to prolong the power of the Douglasses, who continued to manifest the warmest devotion to his interest.

Some events worthy of commemoration happened in the northern provinces. The houses of Lesley and Forbes being at enmity, the counties of Mar, Gareoch, and Aberdeen, were exposed to constant ravages and reprisals; but by the interference of Angus the differences were composed, and a lasting friendship established. While the lowlands frequently afforded scenes of rapine and slaughter, the highlands were lost in all the outrage which distinguishes a savage state of society. Lachlan Mackintosh, chief of the noted clan Chattan, being a man of prudence, and attached to good order, restricted his people from the excesses usual to the other clans. James Malcomson his relation, desirous to terminate this restraint, basely assassinated the worthy leader, and took refuge in an isle of the lake of Rothemurky: but he, and his associates, were pursued by the clan, and put to an ignominious death. The son of the late chief being very young, he was delivered to the care of the earl of Murray for his education: and Hector Mackintosh, the bastard brother of Lachlan, was appointed leader of the clan till his nephew should be of age. The new chieftain in vain endeavoured to recover from Murray his young charge, either to lend more firmness to his power, or by his death to ensure its duration. Irritated by the earl's opposition he ravaged his lands, captured the town of Dyke, and castle of Tarnaway; conflagration, slaughter, rapine, marking his ferocious progress. The castle of Pettie, belonging to Ogilvy of Durness, was also taken; and twenty four of that name slain, because Murray had committed the young chief to the care of the Ogilvies, his relations on the mother's side. Emboldened by success Hector proceeded to other outrages,

rages, when Murray procured from the king a commission of ¹⁵²⁷ lieutenant general for the suppression of these disorders. The earl, raising an army, rushed upon the Mackintoshes with such impetuosity, that no opportunity of resistance was given: about two hundred of the perpetrators were seized and hanged: but no torture, nor reward, could induce any of them to discover the concealment of their chief, a fidelity which, if exerted in the cause of virtue, would have merited the highest applause. Yet William brother of Hector, and a principal actor in those sanguinary scenes, suffered the fate of a rebel; his head was exposed at Dyke, his quarters at Elgin, Fores, Inverness, Aldern. Hector in despair fled, by the assistance of Alexander dean of Moray, and by earnest supplications and professions, at the feet of James, obtained the royal mercy: but he was soon after slain in St. Andrew's by a priest named James Spence, who was degraded and executed for the assassination³.

Angus continued sedulously to cultivate the protection of Henry, and the friendship of Wolsey. His correspondence, Nov. as chancellor of Scotland⁴, breathes a firm and uniform desire to maintain the pacification with England; but hesitates not to insinuate hopes of pecuniary rewards. Sir William Lisle, and his sons, being declared traitors by Henry, had fled into Scotland; and Angus endeavoured in vain to discover and deliver them up. Wolsey, on his side, encouraged his attachment to England by a liberality of praise, and political advice⁵,

³ Lessl. 423—426. John Smyth, monk of Kinlofs, ms. Harl. 2363 dates these events 1534; but his dates are confused.

⁴ O. to Wolsey, 2 Nov. 1527, Cal. B. VII, 101; and 29 Dec. 1527, ib. 93. Albany's return was still dreaded.

⁵ The receipt of which Angus acknowledges in his letter last quoted.

which

1527 which Angus would willingly have exchanged for a purse of angels.

Dec. By a proper application of some portions of his opulence, and by the mediation of Archibald Douglas provost of Edinburgh, uncle of Angus, the artful primate of St. Andrew's now accomplished an apparent reconciliation with that potent earl⁶. Sir George Douglas warmly opposed this measure, which was soon to prove fatal to his house. The queen had, some months before, returned to the court of her son, and resumed her wonted influence over him; so that Magnus who, though in England, had from confidential friends speedy intelligence of the affairs of Scotland, hesitates not to affirm, in a letter to Wolsey⁷, that the effects would soon be perceived; and would turn to the destruction of Angus, whom, in the emphatic language of that age, he thus characterizes, "he is gentill and hardy; but he wanteth witte in conveyance of grete causes." Yet he allows to Angus the praise of commonly listening to the prudence of others. The festival of Christmas presented at the royal board the unexpected presence of the queen, the archbishop of St. Andrew's, and Angus⁸; nor had Scotland cause to sigh at the infatuation of the house of Douglas⁹.

1528 Perhaps the friendship of Arran was sacrificed by all parties upon this occasion, for little further mention of him occurs in history. However this be, the archbishop of St. An-

⁶ O. Magnus to Wolsey, 10 Jan. 1528, B. II, 140. ⁷ Ibid. ⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Lindsay's delineation of its tyranny, p. 206, is drawn in his wonted lively colours. He says the Douglasses made a progress to punish thieves and traitors, "but none were found greater than were in their own company." His Douglas groat of 18*d.* Scotch, or superior in size to the English groat, is not known: but in Sept. 1527, Heiztotter a german monyer was employed, though the engraver was to be a Scotch man. Scotst. Cal.

drew's was no sooner reinstalled in some degree of his former power, than he exerted it in the most odious manner. ¹⁵²⁸ The doctrines of Luther were so well adapted to the previous preparation of the minds of men, that, in the space of ten years, the converts were numerous in all regions. Among these Patrick Hamilton, son of Hamilton of Kinkavil, formerly captain of Blackness, having travelled in Germany imported the reformed doctrines into Scotland, where he was to receive the eternal fame of being the protomartyr of the freedom of the human mind. On the pretext of a conference he was inveigled to St. Andrew's; and, after a brief trial, was delivered to the secular arm, and to the flames'. These flames were, ^{29 Feb.} in the course of one generation, to enlighten all Scotland; and to consume, with avenging fury, the catholic superstition, the papal power, and even the prelacy itself.

Meanwhile the queen had in vain endeavoured to shake the authority of Angus. Lord Maxwell, who was firmly attached to her, had made an incursion into England, and burnt the town of Netherby, apparently with a view to exasperate the English to an infraction of the peace; but Angus constrained Maxwell to compound for the damages with lord William Dacre the warden². Lesley informs us that the queen, her husband Henry Stuart, and his brother James, having taken refuge in the castle of Edinburgh, to secure themselves from Angus, probably attempting some extortion of the endowed lands, the king himself advanced to besiege the fortress; upon

¹ Keith, Hist. p. 8: the sentence dated the last day of Feb. 1527-8, ib. App. p. 3. This punishment of a Hamilton must have been in opposition to the wishes of Arran, the chief of the family. Sir Patrick Hamilton of Kinkavil (see 1503) was the son of James, second lord Hamilton.

² O. Dacre to Angus, 26 Feb. Cal. B. III, 3. O. Lord William Dacre to Wolfey, 6 March, B. VII, 102.

1528 which Margaret instantly surrendered the keys, and upon her
 27 Mar. knees requested pardon for her husband, and his brother; who
 were, however, to repress so insolent an example, committed
 12 April to ward for a short time³. At easter the wily primate of
 St. Andrew's magnificently feasted the king, and the Doug-
 lases, in that city; liberally presenting to them estates, and
 houses, gold, silver, and valuable steeds, in order to secure
 their favour, and cover his designs⁴.

The plot of the king's liberation from the odious power of
 the Douglasses was now formed, but proceeded with the secret
 force of a subterraneous river, till it burst forth with the fury
 of a cataract. James prevailed on his mother to abandon to
 him her castle of Stirling, in exchange for the lands of Meth-
 ven, to be erected into a peerage for her husband⁵. Having
 thus secured that important fortress as his special property,
 and appointed confidential officers, he digested his plan, pro-
 bably by Beton's assistance; and apprized the peers who were
 attached to himself, and inimical to Angus. The king was
 now at Falkland⁶, amusing himself with the pleasures of the
 chase; and Beton being then unsuspected by the Douglasses,
 the proximity of residence rendered an intercourse between
 James and him easy and commodious. Angus had gone to
 Lothian, on necessary affairs, leaving with the king Sir Archi-
 bald his uncle, Sir George his brother, and James Douglas of
 Parkhead captain of the royal guard. The uncle soon after

³ Less. 427.

⁴ Lindsay, 217.

⁵ Credence from Margaret to Tait, to be shewn to Northumberland, and
 avouched by him, B. VII, 73. She now basely acts as a spy for England against
 her son, at least, with her usual duplicity, she courts both parties. Hume's
 house of Douglas, II, 97.

⁶ Lindsay's *naïf* account, 217—220, has been chiefly followed in the subse-
 quent narrative.

travelled

travelled to Dundee, to visit his mistress; the brother to St. ¹⁵²⁸ Andrew's, to conclude an advantageous lease with the primate: but the guard of one hundred, commanded by Parkhead, was esteemed a sufficient check on the motions of the monarch.

James seizing the opportunity ordered preparations for a ^{July} solemn hunting on the ensuing day, at seven in the morning; and pretended to retire early to rest, an example followed by the captain of the guard, after placing the usual watch. The king, disguised as a groom, and attended by two faithful servants, passed to the stables; and, mounting fleet horses, they reached Stirling by dawn of day: where having commanded the gates to be shut, and no entrance allowed except by the royal order, he retired to the castle, and enjoyed some repose after his fatigue. He afterwards proceeded to a council, consisting of Arran, Argyle, Murray, Eglinton, and the lords Montgomery, Evandale, Sinclair, Maxwell⁷.

Meanwhile Sir George Douglas having returned to Falkland, at eleven o'clock in the preceding evening, was next morning awakened with the dreadful tidings of the monarch's escape. After a vain search, he cried out, "Treason! the king is gone!" A messenger was instantly dispatched to Angus, who returned; and the treasurer also arriving, they determined to proceed to Stirling. But on their journey a herald ^{5 July} met them with a proclamation, enjoining, on pain of treason, that none of the house of Douglas, nor its followers, should approach within six miles of the court. After some deliberation, it was resolved to obey the royal mandate: and the power of the house of Douglas, which had spread like an alpine torrent after rain, was reduced by the burning sun to its former narrow channel.

⁷ Queen's credence, just quoted.

BOOK XIV.

BEING

THE FIRST PART OF

THE ACTUAL REIGN OF JAMES V.

Character of James V—forfeiture of Angus—negotiations—siege of Tantallon—peace with England—Armstrongs—borderers punished—death of Arran—commercial treaty with Flanders—college of justice—hostilities with England—truce—northern progress of James—protestants burnt—reformation in England—Howard's embassy—parliament—embassy from the emperor.

1528

July

JAMES V was now aged sixteen years and about three months. Of this monarch all our early historians present one uniform character; and their general voice proclaims his excellence. His education, as usual with princes who ascend the throne in infancy, had been neglected, or erroneous; corrupted by flattery; rendered deficient in its tasks from the preceptor's fear of displeasing. Yet his mind was great, his affections warm, his discernment acute. His vices were few, and never interrupted the happiness of his people. His propensity to vague amour was palliated by his general affability; his sternness to the nobles by his favour to the common people, which was so eminent that he received from his affectionate subjects

subjects the glorious appellation of King of the Poor'. To ¹⁵²⁸ the voice of poverty, to the prayer of distress, the gates of his palace stood ever open: with one hand he raised the indigent, while with the other he crushed the proud oppressor. In the knowledge of the laws and customs of his kingdom he was so completely versed, that his decisions were as exact as they were expeditious; and from horseback he often pronounced decrees worthy of the sagest seat of justice. Of indubitable valour, of remarkable strength of constitution, he exposed his life, and health, without hesitation, at any season when it became necessary to curb the marauding borderers, or highlanders, rendered lawless during the disorders of a long minority. The dangers of the wilderness, the gloom of night, the tempests of winter, could not prevent his patient exertions to protect the helpless, to punish the guilty, to enforce the observance of the laws. A stranger to pride, he despised it in others; and his speech was ever sprinkled with humanity².

The faults of his government, though not minute, are more to be ascribed to the times, than to the character of the monarch. His avarice naturally arose from the penury of his education, the dissipation of his finances, and even of the furniture of his palaces, by the unprincipled duke of Albany. But his amassed treasure was employed in the construction of magnificent works of architecture, and of a navy; and in other plans of general utility and glory. His political designs were long studied; yet as he died in his thirtieth year he could not have acquired the experience of age: and the period of his reign presented combinations too intricate for the most skilful

¹ Less. 460.

² A forcible expression of Lesley, "*sermo humanitate, tanquam sale, aspersus.*" For the general character, compare also Buch. XIV, 62, and Lindsay, 276.

1528 } prudence to foresee, or define. The progress of the protestant religion was dubious; and dangerous it is for a prince to embrace a new system before it be approved by a great majority of his subjects. Untaught by the glorious concord between his father and the nobles, James entertained a fixed enmity against the aristocracy, which had effected great usurpations during his minority; and his attachment to the eminent clergy, who alone could balance their power, was unavoidable.

Of the person, and domestic life, of James V the features are well known. His frame was of the middle size, and robust, capable of every exertion of agility, or fatigue. In elegance of form, and countenance, he equalled any prince of his time. His oval face, blue eyes of piercing splendor, aquiline nose, yellow hair, and small beard forked in the fashion of that period, impressed the beholders with ideas of sweetness joined with majesty. In dress he was rather elegant than magnificent: yet his palaces were replete with decoration. The repast of a peasant he would share; and, even from a sumptuous board, the royal meal was plain, and frugal; nor did he entrust his dignity to the intemperance of wine. Eminently patient he was of labour, of hunger and thirst, of heat and cold. His attachment to the arts was decided: he reared palaces of good architecture; and composed some fugitive pieces of poetry, though it be doubtful if any have reached our times³. He replenished his country with artillery, and military weapons; and the beauty of his gold coins bespeaks his attention even to the minutest improvements, to be gained by the employment of foreign artists. The Scottish navy,

³ Sir D. Lindsay, a contemporary, avouches the royal poetry, in his "Answer to the king's flyting." Drummond, 228, says *many* of his verses were extant in his time. It is to be regretted that our monarchs did not, like those of Spain and Portugal, compose history. See the Bibliotheca Hispanica of Antonio.

ruined by Albany, began to resume some importance: and ¹⁵²⁸ the subsequent voyage of James to the Orkneys and Hebudes, accompanied by men of skill, in order to examine the dangers and advantages of the circumjacent seas, will ever deserve the applause of the philosopher, as an enterprize equally rare and meritorious.

When James had appeared at the council-board at Stirling, when the Douglasses had obeyed his mandate not to approach the court, his regal authority may be regarded as complete, and free from all constraint. Yet the power and influence of Angus had been so extensive, that it was necessary to use precautions, in order to prevent the efforts of his despair. ^{6 July} Accordingly James immediately proceeded to Edinburgh, accompanied by the archbishop of Glasgow, the bishops of Dunkeld, Aberdeen, Galloway, Brechin, the earls of Argyle, Arran, Eglinton, Rothes, Bothwell, the lords Maxwell, Evandale, Seton, Forbes, Home, Yester, and their servants to the number of three hundred spears*. Three days after his arrival a proclamation was issued, ordering that none of the subjects should hold intercourse with Angus, or his two brothers, or uncle: and that, on pain of death, none of their followers should remain in the capital after four o'clock in the afternoon of that day. ^{13 July} On saturday and monday thereafter the king, and the above recited lords, sat in council in the upper chamber of the tolbooth, and decreed that a parliament should meet on the second day of September. The archbishop of Glasgow, Gawin Dunbar formerly preceptor to James, was appointed chancellor of the kingdom; Beton, from whom Angus had wrested the seals, being now probably advanced in years, and disgusted with the fatigues of that high office. Lord Maxwell

* O. Lord William Dacre to Wolsey, 18 July 1528, Cal. B. I, 17.

1528 was made provost of Edinburgh. Patrick Sinclair was sent
 { ambassador to England, to narrate the final assumption of the
 authority by James, and to prevent any misrepresentation by
 Angus⁵.

The young monarch was now chiefly guided by the counsels
 of the queen his mother, of Henry Stuart her husband, at
 this time created lord Methven⁶, of Maxwell, and Buccleugh;
 and Arran's bastard son Sir James Hamilton sheriff of Air, a
 man of famous cruelty, and who had lately added to his crimes
 the murder of Cassils, partook the royal bed, a favour assigned
 by the custom of the times to the most chosen friends⁷. No-
 thing but extreme youth can palliate such unhappy favouritism;
 but perhaps the valour alone of Sir James recommended him
 to the king, as a safeguard at this crisis. For, during this
 short residence at Edinburgh, the lords in their turns watched
 the royal palace by night, with their followers in the most de-
 fensible array; nor did the monarch himself, no stranger to the
 power and enterprize of Angus, disdain to head the guard, for
 the space of one night, dressed in complete armour. On tues-
 day, the fourteenth of July, James returned to Stirling; and
 the lords retired to their several residences, leaving the country
 in disorder, till the approaching parliament should ordain mea-
 sures for the public tranquillity⁸.

Sinclair the ambassador was instructed to shew to Henry the
 reasons which instigated James against Angus; and particularly
 that the earl had taken numerous bonds of *manrent* to himself,

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ On the 17th July. Crawf. Off. 66.

⁷ Dacre's letter. Dacre only styles him the Sheriff of Air who slew Cassils. Buch. XIV, 30, says Sir James Hamilton employed Hugh Campbell sheriff of Air to assassinate Cassils. But in a letter of Angus, 11 Sept. 1528, B. VII, 95, Sir James Hamilton is styled Sheriff of Air. See a note at May 1527.

⁸ Dacre's letter.

by which the king was deprived even of the allegiance of his subjects; and to express his desire that Henry would not receive, nor protect, Angus, who had been ordered by his sovereign to surrender himself to imprisonment. To win the compliance of the English king, a further peace of three years was offered; that of 1526 being to expire in the ensuing January⁹.

The intention of James, to attain the Douglasses in the approaching parliament, being known, Angus retired to Tantallon, a castle in East Lothian of great strength; and sent to Sir Roger Laffels, to inquire if he could be received at Northam, in case of necessity¹. Archibald and Sir George Douglas appeared at Edinburgh with their adherents; but their friends had deserted their desperate cause, and Maxwell with a few followers attacking their bands unawares, they accounted themselves happy in escaping by flight².

The national council having assembled, James was not willing to entrust the forfeiture of Angus to their general deliberation, knowing that the earl had many friends; but six clergymen, and five peers, were selected, namely the archbishop of Glasgow, the bishops of Dunkeld, Aberdeen, Galloway, Dumblane, the prior of St. Andrew's; the earls Argyle, Arran, Eglinton, Murray, and lord Maxwell³. This jury of eleven

⁹ O. Instructions, B. II, 185, dated 13 July. On the 28th August James wrote to Henry, to desire that the Scottish merchants might be permitted to carry salmon, and other salted fish, to London, and to Stirbruch fair, though Berwick claimed to be the staple. O. B. I, 33.

¹ C. Sir Roger Laffels to Northumberland, 29 Aug. B. III, 289. ² Ib.

³ C. Laffels to Wolfsey, 8 Sept. B. I, 29. Names of the persons who sat and concluded the forfeiture of Angus, being his chief foes, B. III, 36. Yet the bishop of Aberdeen, in a letter to Magnus, 23 Nov. 1528, B. VII, 117, denies this charge; and says the forfeiture was decreed by the king, and his

1528 eleven was chosen with little regard to justice, for all of them were inimical to the Douglasses; and the forfeiture of the three brothers and the uncle followed of course; the lands of Angus being apparently shared even before it was pronounced; among others, Argyle had Arbanach; Arran, Bothwell; Buccleugh, Jedburgh forest; while to the king were only left the castle of Tantallon, and the superiority of the shire of Angus. Maxwell, and Sir James Hamilton sheriff of Air, also received their portions⁴. The attainder was supported by seven articles, of which the chief was that Angus had retained the king in constraint for two years, against his will, and in defiance of the law of the land⁵.

The fallen earl had employed Andrew Cairns, provincial minister of the friars minors in Scotland, to intercede with the king. And having, upon his attainder, retired from Tantallon castle to Coldingham abbey, (a benefice held, though unjustly, by his brother William,) in pursuance of a maxim of his ancestors, that it was better to hear the lark sing than the mouse chirp⁶, expressing their abhorrence to commit their valour to the dubious strength of walls, he thence dispatched the friar to James. Angus offered to surrender Tantallon, and whatever part of his estates the king might claim, if he would restore the earl to his honours, and to the possession of

universal lords and council. He imputes it to the failure of Angus in many proposals he made to the king, "and eftirwart kepit nevir a word." The bishop was one of the jury.

⁴ Ibid. Arbanach is in the original. Armanach? Perhaps Abernethy, as Crawford's Peerage bears. In Jan. 1529 Tantallon was given to Bothwell. Scott. Cal. But the lordship of Douglas was retained by James; and in June 1534 was given to James his eldest natural son. Ibid.

⁵ Laffels to Wolsey, above quoted. ⁶ Hume Dougl. II, 103.

the

the remainder⁷. The youth and inexperience of James as-
 sented, and even pledged the royal faith⁸: but he speedily re-
 tracted his promise, and summoning an array of eight thousand
 select men, he proceeded against the castles of Angus⁹; the
 parliament having only sitted for the few days necessary to pass
 the attainder; and a few decrees confirming the assumption of
 the sovereignty, and appointing an embassy to foreign realms
 to explore a proper bride for the king¹. 1528
7 Sept.

Sinclair was again dispatched to England, to solicit justice
 on the borderers; to represent the practices of Albany, who
 still retained Dunbar, and even pretended to the regency; and
 to request Henry to interfere with the French king on those
 topics².

James sent a detachment into Douglassdale, to besiege the
 castle of Douglas; but while he was himself proceeding with
 the main body, it was represented by the peers that the expe-
 dition should be deferred till the corn were reaped, lest the
 country might receive injury. The army was accordingly dis-

⁷ O. Declaration of Cairns, signed "Frer Andro Cayrnis, Minister Pro-
 vincial of the Freyr Minors in Scotland, with our hand." Cal. B. VII, 79.
 But Angus insisted for a complete remission to his brothers, palpably instigated
 by his counsellor Sir George, against whom the king was particularly irritated,
 and the demand was thence most offensive.

⁸ Ibid. The important words, "in verbo regio," are on the margin, but
 are specially avouched, "Frer Andro Cayrnis approvith the word on the tother
 syd, *in verbo regio*." This declaration bears to have been drawn up at the re-
 quest of the chancellor of Scotland, (Angus?) and Dr. Magnus.

⁹ O. Laffels to Wolsey, 8 Sept. B. I, 29.

¹ C. Instructions James to Patrick Sinclair, B. VII, 81.

² Ibid. Wolsey's remarks are on the margin. Among smaller particulars
 it appears that the daughter of the late lord Home, executed in 1516, had been
 left in the custody of Sir Christopher Dacre; and as she was a great heiress,
 James desires that she be surrendered.

1528 banded for a month; and the king returned to the capital³.
 { During his residence there, Angus had the presumption to send eighty cavalry, with each a led horse, to burn two villages on the road to Stirling, which they accomplished, saying, with savage merriment, that the light might serve the king on his journey, if he set out before dawn⁴. Whether we regard prudence, or justice, the conduct of Angus on this occasion was contemptible. In vain did Henry and Wolsey repeatedly intercede for this peer, whose actions only tended more and more
 11 Sept. to exasperate his sovereign. Angus, on his side, sent frequent letters to the English king, and his minister, requesting aid; and a reception in England if his fortunes proved desperate⁵. The assistance of force was refused, as Henry could neither with decency, nor prudence, support a rebel peer against his monarch: but the latter, a sad refuge, was granted⁶.

about
2 Oct.

Having again collected some forces, James proceeded to Coldingham, and Angus having retired, the place was assigned to the custody of lord Home, and his brother the abbot of Jedburgh. But, on the same night, the forfeited earl attacked, and regained, his residence, the king fleeing with precipitation to Dunbar. Yet the power of the Douglasses was now further reduced by the death of William the prior of Coldingham; and Angus sent his own daughter by the queen to the castle of Norham, as a place of security⁷.

³ C. Laffels to Northumberland, 11 Sept. B. VII, 14; and O. 13 Sept. ibid. 13.

⁴ Ibid. 11 Sept.

⁵ O. Angus to Wolsey, Coldingham abbey, 11 Sept. B. VI, 176. O. Angus to Northumberland, 11 Sept. B. VII, 95.

⁶ O. Northumberland to Wolsey, 9 Oct. B. VI, 459.

⁷ Ibid. James had 500 men, Angus 200; but 300 borderers joined him in pursuit of the king by night, for they dared not to appear in the day. See also O. Angus to Northumberland, 4 Oct. B. VII, 98.

The Scottish monarch, irritated by resistance and misadventure, raised an army of twelve thousand men, provided with artillery from Dunbar, and other places, and proceeded against Tantallon⁸. The siege was obstinate but vain. James abandoned it after it had continued for more than a fortnight; and unskilfully withdrew his troops, leaving only a small detachment to convey the artillery, which ought to have been sent off in the van. Angus, whose intelligence was wonderful, suddenly advanced with one hundred and sixty cavalry, assailed the detachment by the light of the moon, and put it to a total route. Among the slain was David Falconer, captain of the king's guard of infantry, and esteemed the best naval officer in Scotland. The master of the artillery was among the captives. Angus then convoyed the artillery on its destined road; and delivering the master, ordered him to assure the king of his loyal services, and that his enmity was only directed against evil counsellors, who had exposed their prince to such dishonour on the present occasion⁹. James, burning with indignation, declared with an oath that, while he lived, the Douglasses should find no refuge in Scotland; and he observed the adjuration¹. His rage was yet further increased by the fate of the Martin, a valuable mercantile vessel, which being stranded by a tempest at Innerwick on the eastern coast of Lothian, was seized by the followers of Angus; they rifled part of the cargo, and abandoned the rest to the peasants, who ignorant of its value used the cinnamon as a material of domestic fire, and perfumed their huts with oriental luxury². The office of leading some troops to Coldingham, in order to expell the Douglasses, being

⁸ O. Angus to Northumberland, Nov. B. VII, 99. O. Northumberland to Wolsey, 28 Oct. B. VII, 135.

⁹ Ibid.

¹ Buch. XIV. 37.

² Ibid. 36.

refused

1528 refused by Bothwell, was conferred on Argyle³, who succeeded; and that potent family were forced into England, where Angus and his brother Sir George were to reside during the remainder of this reign, the earl being admitted to the English privy council, and continuing to be highly favoured by Henry: nor did they revisit Scotland till the second year of Mary's minority, after an exile of fifteen years: but no longer was a Douglas to be dangerous to the Scottish throne.

Meanwhile a negotiation was conducted for the renewal of the peace with England, which was to expire in the approaching January. Dr. Magnus, and Sir Thomas Tempest, were the acting commissioners, on the part of Henry; their instructions chiefly tended to accomplish, by every possible endeavour, the restitution of Angus to his titles and estates; the more especially as it was reported that James was treating with the emperor Charles V, now the enemy of England and of France, and the potent earl might support the English influence⁴. But Magnus advised Wolsey not to irritate James by insisting vehemently on the cause of Angus, who, during the three years that he had been warden of the borders, had never administered justice⁵; yet the cardinal, though his fall was fast approaching, continued his usual obstinacy, and gave James infinite disgust. The commissioners having advanced to Berwick, where the negotiations were to be adjusted, Dr. Magnus remained there for more than two months; and was honoured by the correspondence of James, and the queen-mother whose good offices were solicited in favour of Angus⁶.

³ Ibid. 37. Yet Angus seems rather to have left Scotland by Henry's desire, the prolongation of the peace being resolved. See Hume's house of Douglas, II, 104.

⁴ O. Instructions, Cal. B. VIII, 25, and B. V, 41.

⁵ O. Magnus to Wolsey, 14 Nov. B. II, 106.

⁶ C. Magnus to Margaret, Berwick, 18 Nov. B. VII, 106.

But

But she answered, with her usual spirit, that such solicitations shewed little regard either to her, or her son; and that if the English king had acted in a more fraternal manner to her, she might now have been both able and willing to serve him⁷. The reply of James testifies his high obligations to Henry, for his preservation from manifold perils during his minority; and offers in gratitude a pacification of five years, instead of three, as formerly proposed, and all possible redress for any injuries sustained by the English on the marches; but positively rejects the mediation for Angus, to whom he can only afford a remittance of the sentence of death; at the same time assuring Magnus that he prefers the alliance with England to that with the emperor⁸. The chancellor, and council of Scotland, the bishops of Dunkeld and Aberdeen, and Adam Ottirburn the king's advocate, also rejected, by their letters, the applications of Magnus in favour of Angus⁹, whose partisans sedulously reported that England would not consent to peace, except the earl were restored to his honours and estates. Magnus informed Wolsey of the pernicious tendency of this report, James being so much affected at this violation of his dignity, by his uncle's preferring Angus to him, that he burst into tears of rage in full council, while the members joined in his resentment. The ambassador adds that James had shewn a readiness to pardon Angus, upon certain promises; which the earl having revoked, the king also recoiled; and that, though Angus was a good and honourable man, yet he was misled by his brother Sir George, as Archibald Douglas the uncle was by his opulent wife, and to those violent conductors were the misfortunes of the family to be solely imputed¹. In order to

⁷ O. B. VII, 107.⁸ O. James to Magnus, 24 Nov. B. VII, 104.⁹ Cal. B. VII, 110, 120, 115, 117, 116, in the order of names in the text.¹ O. Magnus to Wolsey, 30 Nov. B. II, 105.

1528 } conciliate James, the marriage with Henry's daughter, Mary,
 was again hinted by Magnus to Ottirburn; and it was requested that the proposed embassy for a bride might be delayed².

4 Dec. The Scottish cabinet at length issued a commission to Scot of Balwery, Adam Ottirburn, and Ker of Ferniherst, to renew the pacification³: and they proceeded to Berwick to meet Magnus and Tempest. By previous articles the Scottish commissioners engaged that compensation should be made for the inroads of the people of Lidsdale; they give an elusory promise to assist Henry in procuring the restitution of Angus, if agreeable to their own monarch; and a positive consent that Angus his brother and uncle may be received in England, without breach of the article concerning the reception of rebels, provided that they surrender to James the castle of Tantallon, and their other fortresses⁴. A peace of five years was concluded

14 Dec. two days after; which was, as soon as the formalities would admit, duly ratified by both monarchs⁵. The castle of Tantallon, and other fortresses of the Douglasses, were in consequence rendered into the hands of the Scottish king.

Yet Magnus remained at Berwick, to discover with more accuracy the intentions of James; for though William Hamilton the envoy to France returned at this time with a rejection of all the Scottish proposals, Francis being now entirely devoted to Henry; yet the emperor Charles V employed the mediation of Margaret his aunt, governess of the Netherlands, of the lord of Campvere, and of Moffat the Scottish conservator of trade at Middleburg, in order to procure the marriage of James with his sister the queen of Hungary, Mary the widow

² C. Magnus to Ottirburn, 5 Dec. B. VII, 121.

³ Rymer, XIV, 275.

⁴ Rymer, XIV, 276.

⁵ Ibid. 278, 286.

of the unfortunate Louis, slain by the Turks at Mohatz ⁶. A ¹⁵²⁸ parliament was to meet on the eighteenth of January, to consider this among other affairs; and Magnus earnestly revived the hope of the English princess, solely to prevent any other alliance ⁷. James entrusted him with instructions to shew to Henry, in which he largely vindicated his conduct to the family of Douglas ⁸.

A parliament was held at Edinburgh, of which some statutes ¹⁵²⁹ have been preserved; and particularly one declaring the wilful ^{22 Jan.} conflagration of houses, or corn, to be treason; the penalty being rendered thus high, in order to prevent the commission of a crime become very frequent ⁹. The marauders on the frontiers increased their disorders; the Armstrongs, had in the course of a few years, destroyed not less than fifty two parish churches in Scotland, if Magnus be believed; and they openly boasted that they would neither be subject to James, nor Henry, but would continue their excesses ¹. The Scottish king loudly blamed Angus, and his adherents, for encouraging these crimes, and resolved speedily to terminate them with an iron hand, beginning now to have recourse to aged and prudent counsellors, and not hesitating to ascribe the fall of his ally,

⁶ O. Magnus to Wolfey, Berwick, 17 Dec. B. II, 108.

⁷ Ibid. Beton archbishop of St. Andrew's had now great power in the council, as Magnus informs Wolfey.

⁸ O. Cal. B. VIII, 1. Among other topics, this curious paper bears that Angus had a design to murder James, as some nobles could prove; that, last Easter, James had, by the advice of aged peers, called Angus before a council of five or six, repeated the public murmurs, and desired a reform, but the only fruit was that the earl imagined the death of the advisers; and that James, by the faith of a prince, intended no more against Angus and his friends, than to have withdrawn their offices, had they not passed into open rebellion.

⁹ Acts.

¹ O. Magnus to Wolfey, 14 Feb. B. II, 67.

1529 Christern of Denmark, to the youth and inexperience of his advisers².

So relaxed had the reins of government become by a long minority, that the distant regions seemed to have lost all law. The earl of Caithness, and lord Sinclair, having resolved to seize the Orkneys, led an army against those islands. But ¹⁸ May they were met by James Sinclair, governor for the king, the Orkneys having been for more than half a century a royal appenage; and the Orcadians displayed such loyalty and courage that they completely defeated their invaders, their enthusiasm being so much kindled on this occasion that, in their pious eyes, their military patron St. Magnus became a visible champion, who opened to them the road to victory. The slaughter was great on both sides; Caithness and five hundred of his followers were slain; Sinclair and the rest remained captives³.

The king summoned a council of the nobles to Edinburgh, where it was determined to proceed with salutary rigour against the borderers who continued to defy the laws. To institute an example of terror to their chieftains, William Cockburn of Henderland, and Adam Scot of Tushilaw, were tried, condemned, and executed⁴. The earl of Bothwell, lord of Tivendale, who either protected, or did not punish, the marauders, was lodged in prison, where he remained six months⁵. Some other rigorous but exemplary measures followed against those barons, who were the most deaf to the outcry of public disorder: but it would be ridiculous to infer that James, a youth

² Ibid.

³ Less. 430.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ O. Communications Bothwell and Northumberland, 21 Dec. 1531, Cal. B. V, 216. Lesley erroneously says Bothwell was banished, and went to Venice, where he lived during this king's reign. This earl Patrick appears to have died in Scotland about 1534. Dougl. Peer. 85. His successor Patrick died, apparently abroad, in Sept. 1556. Dalr. Rem. 175.

of seventeen, had projected a deep political plan to depress his nobles. Their outrages during his minority, while the peers of England had begun to feel and respect the tranquillity of the laws, had justly excited his lively resentment; and his love of his people prompted him to crush those proud oppressors, who drew their chief revenues from the distress of the industrious, and maintained bands of lawless followers at the public expence. 1529

So uncertain is sometimes the chronology of Scottish history, even at this period, and so negligent have all our writers been in this important province, that it is dubious if some events, ascribed to this year, did not occur in the course of the next. Of this kind is the imprisonment of Bothwell; which was followed by that of other border chiefs, the earl of Home, lord Maxwell, Scot of Buccleugh, Ker of Fernihurst, Polwarth, Johnston, Mark Ker &c.

Having thus secured their protectors, James collected some troops, and proceeded to Eusdale, against the marauders themselves. Forty eight of the most criminal were seized, and hanged; one who had set fire to a house, and therein consumed a woman and her children, was, with just retaliation, committed to the flames. But the fate of the Armstrongs, long notorious for the atrocity of their ravages, chiefly excited the public attention, and applause. By the assistance of George his brother, who was pardoned on condition of betraying the others, John Armstrong the chief of the name, whose

June

* Lest. 431. Buchanan dates these events, and the execution of the Armstrongs, in 1530, for after narrating them he proceeds, "Proximo anno qui fuit 1531:" the date 1529 should be put at the words "Arce dedita," after the surrender of Tantallon, for it was in 1529 that Sir Robert Barton was made treasurer, Crawf. Off. 373. And the words, "Proximo anno, mense Martio," refer to 1530, not 1529 as marked on the margin. Buch. XIV, 38, 39, 40.

1529 robberies had elevated him to opulence and power, was captured, and suffered the fate of a felon⁷. Having thus at length accomplished the subordination of the frontiers, James returned to Edinburgh, and released the imprisoned chiefs, now taught to acknowledge the regal sword as well as the sceptre. But Bothwell, who exceeded in faults and in power, remained in durance.

Archibald Douglas, uncle of Angus, clandestinely returning to Scotland, suddenly threw himself at the king's feet, while he was on a journey; but James having made a vow to pardon none of the family, he with reluctance exiled the old man to France⁸.

James had dispatched an ambassador to Francis, concerning his marriage with the queen of Hungary sister of Charles V; and at the same time sent letters to Albany, representing that, as they were the sole survivors of their family, this event might interest his uncle's exertions, as well as his own, and desiring his intercession with the French king for its accomplishment. But Albany ungenerously remitted a copy of the letters to Wolsey, with a credence by James Lamb, who was authorized to declare his master's devotion to Henry and Wolsey, and his intentions of opposing any connubial alliance with Charles, the enemy of England and France⁹. This disingenuous flattery was vain, for, in October this year, the cardinal was hurled from the summit of power; and was, a year after, to leave in his death a striking lesson to mankind on the vicissitude of fortune. The answer of Francis to James displays his

⁷ Less. 432. Buch. XIV, 39. Lindsay, 226.

⁸ Less. ib. Hume's House of Douglas II, 107.

⁹ C. Credence Albany to Lambe, B. VI, 117. C. James to Albany, 10 May, B. VII, 133.

desire that he will abandon all views of the intended espousals, 1529
as highly offensive to him, and to Henry his ally ¹.

The year fifteen hundred and thirty is barren of important 1530
events. The proposed marriage of James with the queen of Hungary meeting with such decided opposition from Henry and Francis, and the lady herself shewing no warm inclination, as preferring the independent and opulent government of the Netherlands, to which she might aspire on the death of her aunt Margaret, now aged and infirm, another alliance was projected by Albany. The intended bride was the duchess of Urbino, so styled, but apparently the widow of the usurper Lorenzo of Medici, and in consequence a relation of the adviser. James sent Thomas Scot to Henry, to consult him on this scheme; and the Carlisle herald brought the consent of the English monarch ²; but some unknown obstacle terminated this, the third, matrimonial proposition to James.

One John Scott pretended to revive the declining affection of the people to the catholic faith, by extraordinary fastings, pilgrimages, and devotion; and he ran an imminent risk of canonization, when some new scenes betrayed his imposture to public ridicule ³.

The death of James lord Hamilton, the first earl of Arran, deserves especial commemoration, as a name frequent in the historical page of this reign, and that of James IV. He was succeeded by his son James, afterwards to be more distinguished, in the commencement of Mary's reign, by his title of regent, than by his abilities ⁴.

¹ O. Francis to James 28 June 1529, B. VII, 132.

² O. Credence Henry to Carlisle Herald, B. VIII, 8.

³ Less. 431. Buch. XIV, 40. The papist, and the protestant, conspire in detailing this minute affair with ludicrous importance.

⁴ Crawf. Peerage: and his Renfrewshire, p. 246, edit. 1782.

1531 Sir James Inglis, abbot of Culros, and apparently he who
 1 March was secretary to Margaret the queen, was murdered by the
 baron of Tulliallan, and his followers, among whom was one
 Lothian a priest. They were seized four months after; and
 the impartial justice of James delivered Tulliallan, and the
 priest after having been previously degraded, to the punishment
 of decapitation, which was superintended by Argyle the High
 Justiciary⁵.

26 April A parliament met at Edinburgh, and passed some severe
 ordinances against assassination, and robbery, crimes yet fre-
 quent. Nor did the imprudent mercy of the monarch ever
 relax from the complete enforcement of those salutary laws⁶.

June The commercial treaty concluded by the wisdom of the first
 James, between Scotland and the Netherlands, for the term of
 one hundred years being about to expire, Sir John Campbell
 of Lundy, and Sir David Lindsay of the Mont lyon-king-at-
 arms, with David Panter as secretary of legation, were sent
 to Brussels, where Charles V now was, in order to procure its
 renewal for a similar space of time⁷. Margaret governess of

⁵ Lesley 433. This Sir James Inglis was surely the same who had been se-
 cretary to the queen Margaret, as mentioned in the transactions of 1515. In a
 charter of 19 Sept. 1527, he is styled chancellor of the royal chapel at Stirling.
 Scotst. Cal. Mackenzie, in his most careless and inaccurate work, called *Lives*
of the Scottish writers, has woven a tissue of errors, in his account of this author,
 who was an eminent poet: among others he makes him survive the battle of
 Pinkie in 1548. Sir David Lindsay, in the prologue to his *Papingo*, a poem
 finished on the 14th day of December 1530, (as the first edition, London 1538,
 bears at the end,) thus commemorates Sir James Inglis, then alive, and insinu-
 ates that his opulent abbacy had suppressed his studies.

Qwho can say more than Schir James Inglis sayis

In ballats, farses, and in plesande playis?

Bot Culrose haith his pen made impotente,

In Feb. 1539, and June 1540, a *William* appears as abbot of Culros in Scot-
 starvet's Calendars. ⁶ Less. 434.

⁷ O. James to Magnus, 29 June, B. III, 56. O. Ottirburn to Magnus,
 26 June, ib. 298.

the Netherlands having died in the preceding November, the ¹⁵³¹ queen of Hungary was now raised to that splendid prefecture: and the Scottish ambassadors were received by her and the emperor, with great favour, and dismissed with entire satisfaction in all their demands⁸. Charles V, upon his sister's refusal to marry James, offered a daughter of the deposed Christern II of Denmark, his own niece by the mother⁹. But James being in alliance with Frederic, the reigning Danish monarch, the match was rejected as impolitic. Panter the secretary, passing through the north of England on his return, was seized; and Northumberland forced him to confess these particulars, which he carefully remitted to Henry.

Charles V anxious to secure the alliance of James against France and England, whose junction in opposition to him was this year rendered still more formidable by the protestant league of Smalcald, sent an envoy to Scotland. To enforce the acceptance of Christern's daughter he offered all Norway in dower: but the country was yet to conquer, and James had an ample domination of mountains within his own realm. The emperor, who, notwithstanding the recent peace of Cambray, expected to be again attacked by Francis and Henry, eagerly desired James to form an alliance, offensive and defensive: but the remoteness of the Austrian power forbade the Scottish king to sacrifice the now ancient alliance with France, connected with his kingdom by so many commercial and political ties¹. Oa.

The enmity of James to his nobles increased with his wisdom and years. Ignorant, and incapable, they were only distin-

⁸ C. treaty, Harl. 4637, Vol. III, 16, dated 23 July 1531, for 100 years from 25 May 1531. O. Sir David Lindsay to the secretary of Scotland, 23 Aug. B. I, 298.

⁹ O. Northumberland to Henry, 29 Sept. B. VII, 157.

¹ O. Sir Thomas Clifford to Henry, 21 Oct. B. III, 282.

1531 { guished as the disturbers of the public tranquillity, and as the foes of industry. Angus he had banished, Crawford he had stripped of a great part of his inheritance: Argyle was now in prison; Murray and Maxwell were disregarded; and Sir James Hamilton treated with deserved contempt². The clergy on the other hand, being friends of order and peace, and distinguished by talents and learning, were highly honoured by the king. The archbishop of Glasgow the chancellor, James Beton archbishop of St. Andrew's, and his nephew David Beton abbot of Arbroth and lord privy seal, afterwards cardinal and chancellor, were the most eminent of the clergy, and chosen counsellors of James. As he could not foresee the progress of the protestant faith, and the consequent enmity to be entertained against his ministers, the choice was laudable; if indeed there was a choice, when the church afforded the only men in his kingdom capable of political discussion and decision.

Yet Bothwell, irritated by his own former imprisonment, and by the contempt which James manifested of the aristocracy, secretly passed into the north of England, where he held a conference with Northumberland, treasonable against his sovereign. He represented his own grievances, that James, forgetting the services of his father and grandfather, had long held him in nonage, and given some of his lands to the Kers of Tividale, forbidding the earl to recover them by law, on pretext of his misrule; that he had been imprisoned for half a year, and would have suffered death, had not his friends entered into a cognizance of twenty thousand pounds, to restore him to durance when required. He expressed his hopes that Henry would assist the peers against James, who was in league with his enemies the emperor, the Danish king, and O'donnel

² O. Communications Northumberland and Bothwell, 21 Dec. 1531, B. V, 216.

an Irish chieftain. He mentioned the severity shewn to Angus, Crawford, Argyle, and others: and if Henry will wage war against Scotland, and raise the nobles from their depression, he offers his allegiance, and services, with one thousand gentlemen, and one thousand commons; so that, with the additional aid of Angus, the English monarch might soon be in possession of the capital city of Scotland³. But James, discovering these conferences, ordered Bothwell on his return to be again seized, and confined in the castle of Edinburgh⁴.

Two important events distinguish this year, the institution of the college of justice, and a war or rather an interruption of the peace with England. A parliament assembled, in which the various articles of the institution of a new court of law were considered and passed⁵. The plan, which was in imitation of the parliament of Paris, had been formerly projected by the regent Albany. Before this institution civil causes were adjudged by standing committees, consisting of members of each of the three parliamentary orders, who made an annual circuit into each of the quarters of the kingdom. The plan was attended with many inconveniencies; the expence to which the members were exposed rendered them reluctant in performing this duty, and precipitant in its accomplishment. And the deputies of the commons being annually changed, if a suit were prolonged, the change of judges, who

³ Ibid. For the Odonnels see the reign of James IV. In 1516 a charter appears to Uchtred Odonnel, of Manchremoir in Kircudbright. Scotst. Cal. It is suspected that, in the reign of James III or IV, many Irish were permitted to settle in Galloway, whence our "wild Scots of Galloway," only known to late writers.

⁴ Buch. XIV, 42.

⁵ Acts, f. 113. ms. Harl. 2363, f. 18, written by a contemporary, John Smyth monk of Kinlofs. The inaccurate edition of our statutes by Murray of Glendook places this institution in 1537: yet the king's ratification, p. 121, bears, in the nineteenth year of his reign, that is 1532!

1532 were again to be instructed in the whole procedure, rendered the embarrassment and protraction extreme; not to mention that perhaps none of the members, except the clergy, were conversant in the laws. The new institution has been attacked with rancour by Buchanan, whose protestant enmity to James, (because that monarch did not rashly exchange his faith for a new doctrine, not yet adopted by the majority of his people,) delights to misrepresent the motives, and actions, of a prince, whom, in the conclusion of his reign, he is constrained highly to applaud. That famous historian says, "there being hardly any laws in Scotland, except the acts of parliament, which are mostly of the temporary class; and those judges preventing, as far as their power will permit, the enactment of new statutes; the properties of all the citizens are in fact committed to the arbitrement of fifteen men, whose power is perpetual, and whose controul is tyrannical, since their wills form their only laws⁶." This satire might have some justice when Buchanan wrote; but the numerous acts of parliament, the codes of decisions, the power of appeal since the union of the kingdoms, the very attention of the judges to their own character, while seated in the tribunal before a sagacious public in an enlightened age, all conspire to overturn its present force. That the English mode of deciding even civil causes by jury is far more favourable to freedom, than this plan of a standing jury, appointed and paid by the king, is most evident; and truth will reluctantly confess that few and rare are those judges, or even lawyers, in Scotland, who have twined the wreath of eloquence around the altar of freedom. Yet, on the other hand, the institution of the court of session could flow from no arbitrary principle, as it was confessedly founded in imitation

⁶ Buch. XIV, 43.

of the parliament of Paris; and it is well known that the latter ¹⁵³² court alone nourished the feeble flame of liberty, while the night of despotism had enveloped France.

It is unnecessary to enter into the trivial detail of the various articles relating to this important institution. Suffice it to observe that its power of decision extended to all causes, except those of riot or oppression, which passed to the privy council, while other criminal suits remained in the jurisdiction of the court of the High Justiciary; and that the original number of its members were fifteen, half clergy, half laity, and a president; the first members being the abbot of Cambuskenneth president, Richard Bothwell, John Dingwall, Henry White, Robert Shanwell, William Gibson, Thomas Hay, Arthur Boyce⁷, of the clergy; Scot of Balweery, Sir John Campbell, Adam Ottirburn, James Colvill, the justice clerk, Francis Bothwell, James Lawson, of the laity. The annual expences of this court were ordered to be defrayed from the revenues of the clergy, who in vain opposed this taxation⁸.

The brief interruption of the peace with England, by mutual inroads, demands the explanation of a cursory glance on the affairs of Europe. An alliance between Francis and Henry against the emperor had subsisted for six years; half of the space in war; the latter half in a peace, which was to continue for two years longer, though Francis now joined the league of Smalcald. Henry, eager in prosecuting his divorce from Catherine of Arragon, was about to liberate his kingdom

⁷ A kinsman of Hector Boyce, the historian, as appears from his Lives of the Bishops of Aberdeen; and the orthography of the name is evinced from this act. The first advocates chosen to plead before the court, were, Galbraith, Lesley, Spittal, Letham, Lauder, Kimirage, Marjoribanks, Johnston. ms. Harl. 2363, f. 41. The number was limited to ten; ib.

⁸ Less. 438. Buch. XIV, 43.

1532 from the ignominious chains of Rome. The treaty between him and Francis was renewed, and a conference appointed, which took place in October this year: and was followed, in December, by a fruitless interview between the emperor and the pope⁹. The impulse which Henry had given to the popular opinion, by his decisive conduct against Rome, agitated all Europe. The north of Germany, the kingdoms of Denmark and Sweden, had already embraced the protestant religion: England had abjured the Roman influence; France and Scotland abounded with the disciples of Luther: and the crisis had suddenly become so new, and important, that the most skillfull politicians could not decide on its infinite combinations and consequences.

James, who listened with pleasure and instruction to the conversations of Lindsay, and other learned protestants in his kingdom, was far from being decided in his resolutions concerning the new system. A variance also appears to have prevailed between him and his clergy, on account of the expence of the new court of justice; and they had appealed to the pope. Amid such dispositions it was remote from the interests of James or Henry to proceed to hostilities; and the attempt to excite a war appears to have arisen from disaffected subjects of one or both kingdoms; but most probably from the obstinate catholics of the north of England, where ignorance as usual nursed superstition. Certain it is that the Scottish historians ascribe the discord to the English, while the chronicles of the latter nation confute not the charge. Lesley blames William lord Dacre, the warden of the western marches, whose friendship to Angus induced him to interrupt the peace¹: Buchanan hesitates not to doubt Henry's own intentions, who,

⁹ Herbert's Henry VIII, sub anno.

¹ Less. 435.

strengthened

strengthened by his intimate alliance with France, might hope to intimidate James from his connections with the pope and the emperor ¹⁵³² ².

However this be, the first symptom of hostility which can be discovered is an engagement from Henry to Angus, for an annuity of one thousand pounds yearly, on condition of his services against his country ^{25 Aug.} ³. James on his side shewed the most prompt vigour. The earl of Murray was appointed lieutenant general of the kingdom: and an army was ordered to assemble on the north of the Forth ⁴.

The earl of Northumberland, in a letter to Henry, informs him that Mackay had gone from Scotland to Ireland with seven thousand men, and another thousand had recently been added; that their ravages were great though it was doubtful if they fell on Henry's subjects: that Argyle and Crawford might easily be won to the English interest, and Bothwell if delivered without indemnity; James having taken from Argyle and his heirs the government of the Hebrides, and many lands there, and in the extremity of Scotland, which were granted to Mackay: that the spiritual peers were inimical to James, except the archbishop of Glasgow, and the bishops of Dunkeld and Aberdeen, the king having endeavoured to raise ten thousand crowns a year from the clergy; but the archbishop of St. Andrew's procured a bull, restricting his claim to four thousand pounds sterling, to be paid in four years ⁵. ^{Sept.}

² Buch. XIV, 44. ³ C. B. I, 129.

⁴ Buch. ib. C. Northumberland to Henry, Sept. B. I, 124.

⁵ B. I, 124. James had also taken from Crawford some lands in the Isles, and assigned them to Mackay, ib. The Mackays lords of Rea, and proprietors of the wild and remote northwest extremity of Scotland, spring from the house of Forbes; their original possession was Far in Strathnavern; and so early as 1395, they contended with the house of Sutherland. The peerage of Rea was created in 1628. Dougl. Peer.

- 1532
Oct. The mutual inroads became frequent, and destructive. Some Scottish hamlets were burnt: and in return a village, within three miles of Warkworth, was given to such a furious conflagration that Northumberland, lodging at the latter place, dressed himself at midnight, by the light of the devouring flames⁷. The English, led by sir George Douglas, consumed the town of Coldingham. James having demanded of his parliament, which met in September, a taxation for the maintenance of garrisons to the amount of three thousand men, it was refused; and he retired in disgust to Stirling, while the earl of Murray's march towards the borders was delayed.
- 22 Oct. Northumberland expresses his intention of delivering Kelso to the flames, so that no place near the borders might remain to receive a Scottish garrison⁸. This scheme seems to have failed; but he detached fifteen hundred men who burnt Branxholm, the residence of Scot of Buccleugh a violent enemy of the English, and who had used satirical expressions against Henry. This inroad commenced at seven in the evening, and flaming villages marked its progress; and though Lidsdale was spared, to excite suspicion against its owners, the captives amounted to forty, with three hundred cattle, and sixty horses⁹.
- 20 Nov. In return the Scots assembled, to the amount of three thousand: of whom three hundred were sent to forage, and remain in ambush near the Cheviot mountains. The rest advanced to the water of Bremish, taking spoil and captives. Buccleugh, Celsford, and Ferniherst, conducted them with such skill and valour, that the English bands, brought to oppose their progress, were forced to retire; and the Scots returned laden with prey. To secure the unanimous support of the frontiers,

⁷ Fragment Northumberland to Dr. Fox, 22 Oct. B. VII, 178.

⁸ Ibid. ⁹ C. Northumberland to Henry, no date, B. VII, 222.

James proclaimed a general amnesty, with the exception of ¹⁵³² Angus, his brother, and uncle ¹.

As neither king issued a declaration of war, it is unnecessary ¹⁵³³ much to prolong the account of mutual inroads, which were carried on with almost unexampled ferocity. For Murray, the Scottish lieutenant general, had ordered each quarter of the kingdom to detach successively a band of soldiers to the borders, there to remain for forty days, and assail the English limits with uninterrupted devastation². On the part of England, Angus and his brother sir George Douglas shone like destructive meteors, and blasted the Scottish territory by their presence, or proximity. The horrors of war, accustomed to attend the flowers of spring, now covered the snows of winter. Henry had detached sir Arthur Darcy to Berwick with a troop of chosen men, yet the Scots, in one of their incursions by the middle march, had advanced to Fowberry beyond Wooler, and returning with great prey, vaunted that "Darcy had brought them good fortune, while he and Angus slept well at Berwick³." Stung by this reproach, these leaders made a destructive inroad, gave Dunbar castle to the flames; and ravaged, in their return, the country around Duns⁴. But the only permanent feature of the war was the capture of a small old fort, called Cawmyl, two miles from Berwick, and now termed Edrington castle, by Angus and his brother; of which

¹ C. Northumberland to Henry, Nov. B. VI, 7.

² Buch. XIV, 44.

³ Hall, f. 212, 24 H 8.

⁴ Buch. XIV, 44. From two letters of Northumberland to Henry, April 1533, B. VII, 260, 265, it appears that sixty English had overcome 200 Scots led by John Home; that, on the 26th April, 200 Scots had invaded the English frontier, and burnt some villages, and the English had in return consumed Edrington with avenging flames. The French ambassador, M. de Beauvois, had proceeded from Alnwick to Coldingham; and Murray had proclaimed a cessation of hostilities, an example which Northumberland ungenerously did not follow.

they

1533 they maintained possession with an obstinacy which had almost frustrated the pacific intentions of the monarchs⁵.

Henry had sent lord Rochfort on an embassy to Francis, to impart his marriage with Ann Boleyn; and at the same time to mention the inroads of the Scots, and his design of chastising them⁶. But Francis could not with decency permit the interruption of peace between his ancient and modern ally; and determined to send ambassadors to mediate their disputes. Etienne D'Acques accordingly arrived in Scotland; and James, availing himself of the opportunity, desired the renewal of the alliance concluded at Rouen, in 1517, by the regent Albany⁷. The French envoy having no instructions to that effect returned; and David Beton was sent to accomplish this object. If it were denied, he was charged with letters to the parliament of Paris, representing the violations of the alliance by Francis, who on all occasions sacrificed the interests of Scotland to those of England, formerly esteemed their common enemy. If eventually constrained to deliver these letters, he was instantly to proceed to Flanders, apparently to form a strict alliance with the emperor⁸. But Beton, a man of address and ability, conducted the affair to an amicable termination.

To prevent an actual campaign between England and Scotland, another French ambassador, Beauvois, arrived. James, by a letter of the fifteenth of May, consented to a truce with

⁵ See the subsequent negotiations.

⁶ Herbert's Henry VIII, 369.

⁷ Buch. XIV, 45.

⁸ Ibid. The application to the parliament of Paris was singular, but not unprecedented, a national council having as mentioned in the reign of James III, ordered a similar mode of negotiation. The nature of the French parliaments seems to have been little known to other nations.

England, at the request of France⁹: and, on the nineteenth of June, he issued a commission, dated at Air, to sir James Colville and Adam Ottirburn his advocate, for that effect¹. Magnus and the other English commissioners met those of Scotland at Newcastle²; but the negotiations were embarrassed with unforeseen difficulties, and protracted till the month of October.

1533

June

One of the chief objects of the conference between the pope and the emperor, mentioned under the preceding year, was to oppose or punish the defection of Henry VIII from the Roman faith. The influence of Scotland in this design attracted the consideration of the pontiff, who sent an ambassador to James³, Clement VII spared neither presents nor professions, to secure the amity of the Scottish monarch, and his attachment to the doctrines of Rome. A parliament assembling in May, James publicly declared his intentions of worshipping at the altars of his fathers; and the laws against heresy were enforced⁴. In return the pope confirmed the contributions to be levied from the clergy for three years⁵.

Of the internal intrigues of Scotland at this period little is known. The earl of Bothwell yet remained a prisoner in the castle of Edinburgh; and he died the following year a captive or an exile. The archbishop of St. Andrew's appears about this time, to have been also committed to that fortress; probably on account of his opposition to the proposed contributions from the church⁶.

July

James,

⁹ C. James to the French ambassador, B. VII, 182, dated 15 May 1533, of his reign the 20th year.

¹ Rymer, XIV, 480.

² Letters of the English commissioners to Henry, 30 June and 26 July, B. VII, 199, 176.

³ Lett. 436.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Keith, Hist. 9.

⁶ O. English commissioners to Henry, 26 July, B. VII, 176. "Also, as it is said, the king of Scotts at this present is at Edinburgh with all his counsaill

1533

James, accompanied by the queen-mother and the papal ambassador, journied through different regions of his realm⁷. His progress deserves some attention, as illustrative of the manners of the times. Hunting was his favourite amusement; and great was the slaughter of deer, roes, foxes, and of wolves, an animal then, and long after, not unfrequent in the Scottish forests. In Athole he was entertained, with singular magnificence, by the earl of that designation. In the midst of a fair meadow a palace was constructed of green wood, entwined with the verdant boughs of birch: it was of a quadrangular form, and each corner was strengthened by a massy and lofty tower. The turretted gate was not wanting; nor the security of the ditch, drawbridge, and portcullis. The floors were strewn with odoriferous herbs and blossoms; the walls were enlightened by numerous windows of fine glass, and adorned with silken tapestry. Nor did the enchantment of the genii of the forest fail to supply all that could appease or pamper the appetite of the royal hunter, and his woodland train. Meat and game of every description abounded; and the ditches were filled with the most delicate fish. Wines, white, claret,

ther, and haith caused th' archbishop of Saint Andrewes, and th' erle Bothwell, to be sette up in the castell of Edinburghe." This earl of Bothwell died in 1534, Peerage, p. 85: apparently right, for an apprizing is led against Patrick earl of Bothwell in Feb. 1536; and in July 1538 lands are granted to him, on lord Maxwell's resignation; in the end of 1539 he grants charters, dated at Aberdeen. Scott. Cal. All indications that this was not the traitor.

At this time, as appears from different letters of the commissioners, a Welch gentleman, James ap Howel uncle of Rice ap Griffith, fled into Scotland with his wife, daughter and twelve attendants. James hearing that the daughter was "fair and fifteen," went to see her. O. Sir Thomas Wharton to Cromwell, Newcastle, 11 July, B. III, 258, 163, and B. VII, 176.

⁷ Charters of the 12th Sept. 1533, are dated at Inverary. Scott. Cal. Hence apparently the error of Buchanan, and our late writers, concerning the celebrated voyage of James to the Isles, which in fact did not take place till 1540.

muscadel,

muscadel, and malmfey, hyppocras, brandy, and the whole-¹⁵³³
 some beverages from malt, gratified thirst, or excited hilarity.
 The dessert was crowned with the choicest fruits and confec-
 tions: and the vessels and linnen were worthy of a palace:
 nor were the luxuries of nocturnal repose, half of the life of
 man, unknown to the fairy mansion. The officers of the
 household, and of the kitchen, were numerous, and selected
 with care. Here Athole treated his royal guest for three days,
 and nights; and the expence of the entertainment, enormous
 for the time, was computed at three thousand pounds. The
 wonder of the papal embassador was yet further increased,
 when, upon the departure of James, the whole edifice, pre-
 sented one conflagration; and the monarch only observed, with
 a smile, "It is the custom of our highlanders to burn their
 lodgings^s."

Meanwhile the negotiations between the English and Scottish
 commissioners, at Newcastle, proceeded with great slowness;
 the minute and ridiculous affair of the restitution of Cawmyl,
 or Edrington, to Scotland forming the sole apparent obstacle.
 Beauvois, the French embassador, used every exertion for con-
 ciliation; the place was not capable of holding sixteen persons;
 might easily be taken by the Scots, while it was remote from
 any English assistance: but the English mentioned the prizes
 which the Scots had taken at sea, and insisted that no restitu-
 tion, except mutual and complete, could be granted⁹. Beau-
 vois in July left the commissioners¹ to settle a business, which
 they themselves could not mention with gravity; and it was
 not till October, after creating more expence to their country
 by their salaries, than the old fort was worth, that the object

^s Lindsay, 226—228.

⁹ B. III, 161, 163. B. II, 101.

¹ B. III, 163. A letter from one of the commissioners to Henry, B. VII,
 199, styles this great conquest "certain olde howses and vaultes in Scotland."

1533 was abandoned by the Scots, and a truce of only one year was
 1 Oct. adjusted, till an embassy from James should establish a more
 lasting treaty².

Some tumults arose in Scotland, occasioned by the assassination of Lindsay a potent baron. Murray and Argyle were engaged in open enmity against Huntley, and the king in vain attempted a reconciliation³. Ker of Fernihurst, and other Kers and Humes, were imprisoned at Glasgow and Dunbarton, probably on account of some fresh disorders on the frontiers⁴.

1534 A commission was issued to William Stuart bishop of Aber-
 16 Feb. deen, and Adam Ottirburn of Reedhall now knighted, to proceed to England, and conclude a lasting pacification⁵. After some negotiation, at London, with the English commissioners

11 May Audley, Cromwell, and others, a solemn peace was ordained, to continue during the lives of the monarchs, but to expire a

12 May year after the decease of the first who left this life⁶. By a separate instrument the castle of Cawmyl or Edrington was redelivered to the Scots; and the residence of Angus, his brother, and uncle, in England was permitted⁷. The treaty was soon after ratified, with more than usual solemnity, by both kings. The bishop of Durham, Sir Thomas Clifford, and Dr. Magnus, brought the original counterpart to James; who
 July swore to its observance at Holyroodhouse, in the presence of

² Rymer, XIV, 480. There were four English commissioners and their pay was twenty shillings a day to each, B. VII, 207, a letter to Cromwell, 9 Sept. but it was afterwards restricted to 13s. 4d.: the "men of war" had conduct money, and wages; and sir George Douglas was paid for keeping Cawmyl. O. Lawson to Cromwell, 27 Sept. B. III, 150.

³ Fragment Northumberland to Henry, B. III, 229.

⁴ C. Lady Dacre to Dacre, B. VI, 135.

⁵ Rymer, XIV, 483.

⁶ Ib. 529.

⁷ Ib. 538.

two thousand spectators, while the air resounded with musical instruments, and acclamations of joy ¹⁵³⁴.

The bishop of Aberdeen was intrusted with some secret commissions. He was, if possible, to procure the marriage of James with Mary the daughter of Henry; and most privately to adjust a meeting of the two monarchs and Francis⁹. But Henry was now little disposed to favour the elevation and independance of Mary, who had warmly resented her mother's divorce; and James, irritated by the refusal, protracted the conference. Yet the order of the garter was remitted to James, by the hands of lord William Howard brother of the duke of Norfolk: and the young monarch soon after received that of the golden fleece from the emperor, and that of St. Michael from Francis¹.

While Henry was employed in the emancipation of his realm from the Roman superstition, James was rivetting the chain upon his subjects by terror. Henry Forest a benedictine friar, and Norman Gourlay, and David Straton, two gentlemen, were convicted of the Lutheran heresy, and given to the flames². James was induced to indulge his clergy in these cruel exhibitions, more perhaps from political views, than from his native superstition. Henry's reformation of religion was of a singular

⁸ C. the English ambassadors to Henry, 9 July, B. VIII, 163. Lest. 440. It was probably on this occasion that a long and curious anathema, equal to that in Tristram Shandy, was published by Gawin archbishop of Glasgow, chancellor, against any infringers of the peace on the borders. See a copy, signed by Dr. Bothwell apostolic protonotary, in Cal. B. II, 241.

⁹ O. Aberdeen to Cromwell, May, B. III, 278.

¹ Lest. 439. In a list of writings in the Harl. ms. 4637, Vol. III, f. 81, is mentioned a letter of Howard, and Thomas Wall garter king at arms, *dispensing* with James's assumption of the order, and dated Edin. 21 Feb. 1535. Guthrie V, 145, mentions dispatches of Henry and Howard at this time; but that careless writer has omitted to point out in whose possession they were.

² Lest. 440. Spottiswoode, 66. Keith, 8.

and

1534 dubious kind; he seemed to have deprived the pope of the supremacy of the English church, merely that he might seize that lucrative office himself: and, though the event was to prove highly beneficial to his subjects, yet his motives were well known to be contemptible, and unworthy of the imitation of the Scottish monarch. While Henry at once persecuted the devotees of the pope, and the disciples of Luther, and set all law at open defiance, James can only be accused of permitting the ancient laws of his realm to be put in execution. The political connections between Scotland and France also constrained James, if he did not wish to violate all the maxims of his ancestors, not to imitate and support the example of Henry, but to preserve the system embraced by Francis. The latter monarch, after some hesitation, and even some inclination to the Lutheran doctrine, had, in the preceding October, held a conference at Marseilles with the pontiff Clement VII; and his second son being there married to Catherine of Medici, niece of Clement, Francis became firmly decided in favour of the papal see. While the success of the protestant religion in Scotland was to instigate the writers of that persuasion to brand James as a tyrant, it is impossible for a politician, or philosopher, to censure his conduct, as he was only hurried along in the necessary stream of public affairs. The executions on account of religion during his reign are few, nor do they equal those of one year of Henry: the attachment of James to his clergy was far from being fervile, as his demand of contributions from them, and his imprisonment of the archbishop of St. Andrew's, may declare: and there is reason to impute the persecutions of the reformed not to any sanguinary or super-

* Guicciardini lib. XX, p. 471.

stitious motives, but to the unavoidable tide of political connection, and opinion, in his dominions. 1534

In the course of the summer James made a progress of justice into the northern parts of the kingdom, enforcing the dominion of the law; reprehending the negligence, and punishing the guilt, of culpable magistrates⁴.

The English king, having now completely broken the papal domination in his realm, and being about to suppress the monasteries, and appropriate to himself a part of the unwieldy and indecent wealth of the church, esteemed it more and more expedient to secure the amity of James, as that monarch might be induced to avail himself of the disaffection of the English catholics, and by their help aspire to the crown, or at least embarrass the procedures of Henry. So firmly had the connection between Jesus Christ and his vicar, the pope, been rooted in the mind of ignorance, that the Scots, in common with the other catholics, regarded Henry's conduct as an abjuration of christianity, or indeed of all religion; blind zeal being ever prompt to brand any slight deviation from its own tenets with the name of atheism. To efface such impressions, Henry dispatched as his envoy to Scotland Dr. William Barlow, his chaplain, and bishop elect of St. Asaph, an eloquent preacher, and a warm enemy to the papal usurpations⁵. He was instructed to present to James a book now published by Henry, called "The doctrine of a christian man," in which the superstitions of Rome were exposed; and to examine the inclinations of the Scots on this subject, and even, if James should grant permission, to display his eloquence in the pulpit. But Barlow informed secretary Cromwell⁶ that

⁴ Less. 440.

⁵ Herbert, 405, 413. Buch. XIV, 50.

⁶ O. B. III, 194. He maliciously observes that in Scotland there was abundance of "myserable beggars, and moneyless fouldyoures."

1535 the council of James consisted only of clergy devoted to Rome,
 “ the pope’s pestilent creatures, and very limbs of the devil,”
 as he charitably expresses himself; that it was rumoured by an
 officer belonging to Albany that France intended to declare in
 favour of the pope against England, and Scotland would as
 usual imitate her old ally; that James was himself of an ex-
 cellent and generous disposition, but his spiritual council de-
 cidedly inimical to Henry; that it was sarcastically said that he
 had only come to preach; and he would exert his elocution
 against the papal abuses if James would permit. But the clergy,
 the most opulent order in Scotland, had too much influence to
 leave any hope of such permission; and they forbade James to
 contaminate his eyes with the heretical production of the
 English king.

Henry, who was a complete stranger to the arts of conci-
 liation, with his usual imprudence now sent lord William
 April Howard, a second time, as his envoy into Scotland; a man
 of haughty character, and unexperienced in affairs of delibe-
 ration; and whose presence, as being of the family who slew
 his father, could only give pain to James. The meeting be-
 tween the English and Scottish monarchs, proposed in the pre-
 ceding year, was to have taken place in France, and in the
 presence of its king. But Henry’s passage to that realm
 being postponed, in the present new and critical state of his
 own dominions, a conference with James at York was the
 object of Howard’s mission; which, as was to have been ex-
 25 Apr. pected in such hands, proved unsuccessful. In a letter from
 Edinburgh, this envoy informs his sovereign that he arrived
 at Stirling on good friday, where he found the Scottish king;
 who, when the conference was proposed, inquired if the envoy
 had brought any memoir of Henry’s intended topics of con-

O. Cal. B. II, 194.

versation,

versation, that he might shew it to his council; Howard replied that such a procedure was never heard of before; and he imputes this singularity to the advice of the clergy, whose malice would even bind the tongues of princes: the envoy was then introduced to the council, who declared that, if James had given them information before he had promised a conference, they would not have granted their consent; but since the royal promise was procured the interview must take place at Newcastle, and not at York, nor before michaelmas, as James would not be prepared before that time. Howard objected the difficulty of Henry's accommodation between York and Newcastle; the delay he ascribes to a letter of Ottirburn, insinuating that Henry was himself inclined to procrastinate. The queen-mother was most eager for the conference between the kings; and even expressed herself with such warmth, that her son was displeased at her interference^{*}.

Buchanan reports that, to induce James to consent to this meeting, Henry offered his daughter, with the apparent succession to the kingdom; and in the mean time the titles of duke of York, and lord lieutenant of England[†]. But no original evidence is extant of such high proposals. The Hamiltons opposed the conference, as dreading the marriage of James: the clergy, from apprehensions of Henry's influence in promoting the defection of their monarch from Rome. They represented to him the danger of entrusting his person

^{*} Howard adds that the marriage with Vendome's daughter was frustrated, that James intended to marry lord Erskine's daughter, by whom he had a child; and that though she was married [to Douglas of Lochleven] a divorce was ready. He suspiciously mentions Sir James Hamilton, as the sole master of this secret. All this was mere scandal; and it is no wonder that James blamed Howard for such infamous reports. Keith, Hist. 18, note.

[†] Buch. XIV, 50.

1535 in an inimical land; the kings of which had not in former times observed the most scrupulous faith to those of Scotland: they appealed to his policy, and his piety, in support of the religion of his fathers; and they lavished presents to all who had any influence with James, that they might dissuade him from the dreaded interview¹.

7 June A parliament was held at Edinburgh, being the first of this reign of which a multitude of statutes is preserved². As we approach more modern times, and the state of manners and government becomes more known from other sources, it is unnecessary to narrate with equal minuteness the various ordinances of the national council. Yet a rapid idea of the most important may not be improper. The progress of the protestant doctrine having instigated many to condemn ecclesiastical censures, they were ordered to be enforced by the civil power. Several salutary statutes of the first and second James are confirmed, and strengthened; as those concerning the planting of wood, the herring fishery, and others, which while they evince the good intentions of this legislature, impress at the same time a melancholy truth, that the course of a century had effected little or no progress in the civilization of the realm: and that, to adopt the terms of the present ordinances, "it was unprofitable and useless to make laws, and statutes for policy to be had, except they be kept." To improve the breed of horses it was ordered, in imitation of an English statute, that stallions of a large size should be nurtured. As the borderers had been accustomed to make inroads into the industrious provinces, and seizing the cattle to convey them into England for sale, a decree appears, prohibiting not only the sale of cattle and sheep to the English, but even that of corn³, fish, and salt. The

¹ Buch. XIV, 51.

² Acts, f. 118—126. Keith, 12.

³ In the original *viſtual*, a Scoticism.

act concerning the fishery in the western seas was also reinforced⁴. But the most important ordinance concerns the bur-roughs. As many peers and landed gentlemen had procured themselves to be elected into the magistracy, and under colour of protecting the towns, had dilapidated their resources, it was ordained that the magistrates should thenceforth be chosen solely from among the substantial burgessees, and merchants; and that they should annually produce their accompts at the exchequer, after a public notice of fifteen days, that all the inhabitants might have an opportunity of examination and objection. The repeated delays of the king's marriage excited the anxiety of an affectionate people. In case of his decease Albany, the next heir to the monarchy, was now advanced in years, and had no issue; and the house of Hamilton indulged warm hopes of succeeding to the throne, though perhaps at the expence of a civil war. That family was strong in wealth, and vassalage; and the imprudent youth of James exposed him to every danger. An assassins might assail his life, while, in fatal security, he was attended by only one or two friends, on his nocturnal visits to his mistresses. Chance might perform the office of crime, while his courage exposed him to every danger. Often did he intrust his person to every vicissitude of the climate, passing days and nights on horseback, and snatching a scanty and fortuitous meal: often did he suddenly rush among desperate bands of freebooters, attended only by a few servants, and the terror of the royal name⁵.

⁴ Acts, f. v. 120. The states approved the king's process for treason against Robert Lesley after his death, though no precedent appeared, f. v. 125. Glendook, 122, gives this act as of 1540. The revocation of 1537 is, in the first edition, given at 1535. Both are sometimes inaccurate.

⁵ Buch. XIV, 46.

1535 } Charles V had, in this or the preceding year, sent Godef-
 Aug. } chalco Errigo from Spain to Scotland, to propose a matrimo-
 nial alliance to James; but the project again failed⁶. A so-
 lemn embassy proceeded to France, consisting of the earl of
 Murray lieutenant general of the kingdom, William Stuart
 bishop of Aberdeen, and lord Erskine; in order, if possible, to
 accomplish the nuptials of James. Francis had recommended
 a bride of the royal blood, Marie de Bourbon, daughter of
 Charles duke of Vendome; but James hesitated, for he aspired
 to Magdalen eldest surviving daughter of the French monarch;
 while her father opposed this marriage, as her consumptive
 state of health rendered her claim to the titles of wife and
 mother extremely dubious. But the ambassadors were to re-
 side in France, till James should send a decided mandate on
 the subject. Their mission was indeed chiefly a matter of
 pomp; for David Beton, who had remained in France, was
 the active negotiator, and by his abilities and address overcame
 the English influence in the French cabinet⁷.

To apologize for the failure of the promised interview,
 James sent Sir Adam Ottirburn to Henry, to represent the
 improper conduct of lord William Howard, who had been at-
 tended into Scotland by some followers of the Douglasses; and
 had, on his disappointment, used menaces to the Scottish coun-
 cil⁸. But Ottirburn himself listening to the complaints of
 Angus and his brother, James, upon discovering these prac-

⁶ Buch. XIV, 47.

⁷ Less. 440. Buch. XIV, 49, but he antedates this embassy a year. Sir
 Thomas Erskine of Kirkboddie, the secretary, appears to have been sent to
 assist Beton; for a commission to him to treat concerning the marriage in France,
 dated 12 Feb. 1534, appears in Scotstarvet's Calendars.

⁸ Keith, 18. Drummond, 203.

tices, betrayed the warmest resentment, which on the first ¹⁵³⁵ opportunity he afterwards signalized on the imprudent embassador?

The remainder of this year was not distinguished by any important event. The silence of history commonly proclaims the happiness of a country. The spirited conduct, and wise regulations, of James had terminated the disorders occasioned by a long minority; feared by the clergy and nobles, and beloved by his people, he was now to enjoy the fruits of his patriotic toil, in the uninterrupted continuance of public tranquillity.

* O. John Penman to Sir G. Douglas, 19 Oct. 1536, B. III, 293.

BOOK XV.

BEING

THE LAST PART OF THE REIGN OF JAMES V.

Embassy from the pope—Forbes accused—voyage of James to France—intrigues of Angus—marriage of James—he arrives—his designs—death of Magdalen of France—execution of Forbes—of lady Glamis—military preparations—protestants persecuted—James weds Mary of Guise—English affairs—cardinal Beton—protestants burnt—negotiation—Sadler's embassy—progress of the reformation—voyage of James to the Orkneys and Hebudes—execution of Sir James Hamilton—act of annexation—parliament—death of the infant princes—of Margaret of England—encouragement of manufactures—Beton's embassy—Sadler again in Scotland—English affairs—Scottish clergy instigate a war—hostilities—rout of Solway—death of James V.

1536
Feb.

TO evince his gratitude to James for his attachment to the Roman see, and to stimulate him to withstand the solicitations of the English king, the new pontiff, Paul III, sent Giovanni Antonio Campeggio on a solemn embassy into Scotland. He was instructed to represent Henry's conduct in the most odious colours; his divorce, his rapid marriage with Ann Boleyn, his schism from the catholic faith, attended by the recent

recent execution of Fisher bishop of Rochester for denying his ¹⁵³⁶ supremacy of the church, afforded ample topics of declamation. An alliance between the emperor, Francis, and James, to punish the sacrilegious monarch was hinted; but a war existing between the two first mentioned princes, the scheme was dubious and dilatory. The idle pageants of a cap, and sword, solemnly ^{22 Feb.} consecrated by the vicar of Christ on the night of his nativity, were added; not without an insinuation that the best use of the weapon would be, to direct its point against the English heresiarch¹. It also appears that the rage of Paul, stripping Henry of his ambitious title of defender of the faith, now conferred that vain decoration on James², whose prudence however prevented its open assumption. A permission to exact further contributions from the clergy probably presented to the Scottish monarch more forcible motives for continuing his devotion to the papal faith. Yet, though James had notified to Henry, both by lord William Howard and by Ottirburn, his wish that his uncle would refrain from further persuasions to induce him to follow his example in ecclesiastical affairs, he ^{March} continued to distinguish Henry by the honourable appellation of his father, and to testify the warmest desire of a future interview³.

The ambassadors of James in France concluded a marriage ^{29 Mar.} with Marie de Bourbon, daughter of the duke of Vendome, in consequence of a power from James, dated at Stirling the twenty-ninth of the preceding December. This nuptial treaty was solemnly signed by Francis, and by Albany, then on a bed of sickness, and it is believed, of death⁴. Yet it was afterwards annulled by the visit of James himself to France.

John

¹ Drummond, 201.

² Herbert, 519.

³ O. Margaret to Henry 16 March, Cal. B. I, 158.

⁴ Leagues France and Scotland ms. Harl. 1244, sub annis. The instrument bears that, as Albany was sick, the notaries had carried it to his house: and he subscribes

1536
12 June

John the eldest son of lord Forbes was accused by the earl of Huntley of high treason, in having conspired to shoot the king with a culverin, during his residence at Aberdeen. Huntley was bound to substantiate the charge; and Forbes was committed to prison at Edinburgh. Six months after, his father was also imprisoned, while James was absent in France, till a security of ten thousand marks should be given that the conspirator should appear to undergo a trial⁵.

Irritated by the repeated obstacles to his marriage, doubtful of the private schemes of his negotiators, eager to accomplish an object ardently wished by himself and his subjects, secure of the tranquillity of his kingdom, the young sovereign determined on a voyage to France. The scheme was planned with the utmost secrecy, to elude the vigilance of Henry. And James 26 July suddenly embarking at Leith, accompanied by only two or three small vessels, proceeded towards France; but the wind proving contrary he was obliged to return; and the pilot enquiring where he should direct his course, the king answered "Any where except to England⁶." He then sailed round the northern extremity of Scotland, and by the isles of Lewis and Skey, expecting that the wind might become favourable; but finding this hope vain, or as some writers assert, the course of the ship being changed by some favourers of the Hamiltons, while James was asleep, he was constrained to land on the isle

subscribes JEHAN. Du Chat, in his learned notes on Rabelais, Vol. III, p. 65, says Albany died in 1536.

⁵ Arnot's Criminal Trials, Edin. 1785, 4to, p. 1. In Oct. 1530 a remission had been granted to John *master* of Forbes for the slaughter of Alexander Seton of Meldrum; and for his traitorous "staying from the king's army at Solway and Werk [in the time of Albany's regency?]" Scotst. Cal. Concerning the murder, see Lindsay, 204. In July 1532 the king took some lands from his father, as a pledge that he, lord Forbes, would not disturb the town of Aberdeen. Ibid. So turbulent had this family been; so deserved was the wrath of James.

⁶ Buch. XIV, 52.

of

of Bute, whence proceeding to the nearest port he returned to ¹⁵³⁶ Stirling⁷. But the design being now public, it became necessary for the king's honour to put it into immediate execution; and greater and more secure preparations were used: and to conciliate the favour of heaven, and propitious winds, James performed a pilgrimage on foot from Stirling to the chapel of the virgin of Loretto, situated near Musselburgh⁸.

A commission of regency was signed by the king, constituting ^{29 Aug.} James Beton archbishop of St. Andrew's, Gawin Dunbar archbishop of Glasgow the chancellor, with the earls of Huntley, Montrose, and Eglinton, and lord Maxwell, to manage the public affairs during the absence of their sovereign⁹. James then sailed in a squadron of five vessels; and was accompanied ^{30 Aug.} by the earls of Argyle, Arran, and Rothes, the lords Fleming, Boyd, and other men of rank, with about three or four hundred attendants; and, after a prosperous navigation of eleven days, he arrived at Dieppe¹.

^{10 Sept.} After vain negotiations for peace, Francis was engaged in open war with Charles V, who, at the head of sixty thousand men, had passed the Var, and was now before Marseilles; whence, on the day after the arrival of James, he was forced to retire in confusion. Nor did the imperialists meet with much better success in Picardy. James could hardly have visited France at a more auspicious period. The French monarch was at Lyon, inspecting the important affairs of the

⁷ Buch. XIV, 52. Lest. 441. ⁸ Lest. 442. ⁹ Crawf. Officers, 82.

¹ O. Angus to Cromwell, Berwick 30 Sept. B. III, 198. Lest. 442. Buch. XIV, 52. Lindsay, 240, ludicrously fables that the emperor fled on the report that James had arrived with an army to assist France. James disembarked on the 10th by all accounts: Charles raised the siege of Marseilles on the 11th, L'Art. de Verif. 574, when it was impossible that the tidings could have reached him. Honest Mezeray, Abr. IV, 598, to support the tale, gives James an army of 16,000!

1536 } southern part of his territories, and James embraced the opportunity of proceeding to Vendome, the residence of the duke of that title, and of beholding his intended bride with his own eyes. She displeased him; and the nuptial treaty was annulled¹. James then journeyed to Lyon, and was met at Mont Tarare, near that city, by Henry now dauphin of France, his elder brother Francis having died by poison on the twelfth day of August this year. This prince conducted James to his father, who received him with distinguished marks of affection and esteem. They immediately proceeded to Paris, where, though the court was in mourning for the dauphin, the reception of James was celebrated with all the accustomed pomp and magnificence of France, and of the age of Francis I³. Angus endeavoured to avail himself of the intercession of Henry with the French king, and of the general joy, to obtain a remission for himself and his brother, but in vain: in revenge his secret agent who attended the motions of James, a clergyman named John Penman, remitted to Sir George Douglas malicious and slanderous accounts of the actions and intentions of the Scottish monarch, from which however a few curious facts may be gleaned⁴.

Sir
² Less. 442. Buch. XIV, 52.—Lindsay, 241, gives a lively account of the interview.

³ Less. 443. Lindsay, 242, displays his usual vivacity. Drummond, 205, places the meeting of Francis and James at the chapel between Tarray and St. Saphorin, in the country of Lyon. St. Saphorin is to the south of Lyon.

⁴ See these curious letters, the first dated Rouen, 22 Oct. the second Paris, 29 Oct. in Cal. B. III, 293, seq. They were taken at sea, as the copies bear. For some of their scandalous expressions see the transactions of 1537. Their language is intolerably gross. Among other pieces of satire, the writer says that James is so foolish as to ride the streets of Paris, with a servant or two, supposing himself unknown, though the very car-men pointing with their fingers exclaimed, Voila le Roy d'Escoisse. He adds that some said James would demand

Sir James Hamilton was now overwhelmed with disgrace, ¹⁵³⁶ and Oliver Sinclair was already distinguished by the favour of his sovereign, and accompanied him on this expedition. The earl of Murray evinced discontent by the freedom of his speech; and was perhaps disgusted by the rejection of the marriage treaty which he had accomplished. Argyle was the only enemy of Angus who attended James. As the castle of Dunbar, with its strong artillery, was still retained for Albany, lord Erskine and the abbot of Coupar were sent, with powers from Francis, to receive it in the name of James its proper master. On the twenty-ninth of October it was already determined that the Scottish king should marry Magdalen daughter of Francis; and

mand the daughter of France; others that his ultimate request would be Dunbar, a ship, and two or three horses—that James had sent love-tokens to Lochleven's wife (his former mistress,) and, as some report, would marry her—that none dared to mention a Douglas to him—that he admitted counsel from none—that the earl of Moray contemptuously enquired for Sir James Hamilton his minion, who, as James said, had failed in his duty—and that Moray must be an enemy to James, else he could not display such malice in his conversations with the friends of Angus.

In the second letter Penman mentions that many accused Sir James Hamilton, and James swore he should feel his vengeance; and that if he, the king, only looked on Angus, Hamilton would droop, "for by God's wounds when he and Angus met, Hamilton always turned the back seams of his hose." He also esteems the period favourable for the restitution of the house of Angus, as Francis could refuse nothing to Henry.

The first letter is signed "*Mr. John Penven*," the usual mark of a clergyman; and that he was in high confidence appears from the tenor of the letters, and from the signature of the second, "by your own unfeignedly J. P." They are copies, and erroneously bear on the back to have been directed to lord Douglas, a style which however Sir George may have assumed in England.

Though the copyist have read *Penven*, there is no room to doubt that this person is the identical *Sir John Penman*, (a not uncommon Scottish name,) who is mentioned in the act of remission to Angus and Sir George Douglas, 17 Nov. 1544, as having been employed in carrying treasonable letters from the Douglases to England, in the beginning of that year. Epist. R. S. II, 322, 324.

1536 the twenty-fifth of November was said to be appointed for the nuptials; on which day James was also to give away at the altar the daughter of Vendome, his once intended bride, to the count of Auvais⁵: and the future son-in-law of Francis was treated with all the distinctions allotted to the dauphin.

26 Nov. Accordingly the marriage treaty was signed at Blois. The bride was endowed with one hundred thousand crowns of the fun: and a pension of thirty thousand livres during her life was added. The perpetual alliance between France and Scotland was also renewed⁶. But the marriage was deferred for more than a month, that sufficient time might be left for magnificent preparations.

1537 In the presence of the kings of France and Navarre, seven
1 Jan. cardinals, the twelve peers of France chiefly as usual represented by proxies, and a numerous and splendid appearance of secular and ecclesiastical dignity, of valour and beauty, James was wedded to Magdalen, at the church of Notre Dame in Paris⁷. The dazzling pomp of the ceremony was attended with unanimous acclamations of public joy; and was followed by tournaments, plays, and other exhibitions of singular grandeur, and worthy of the gorgeous opulence of the first court in Europe. Perpetual festivals entertained the king and queen of Scotland, till the month of May permitted them to return in safety to their own kingdom; when they left France, and proceeded on their voyage, loaded with honours, and with an exuberance of precious gifts, presented by the magnificent generosity of Francis I, the father of arts and letters in his realm⁸.

⁵ So the ms. perhaps Beauvais.

⁶ Leagues France and Scotland, ms. sub anno.

⁷ Less. 444. Buch. XIV, 52. Lindsay, 245.

⁸ Less. 445. Lindsay, 247.

Besides the Scottish vessels, which only amounted to four, a ¹⁵³⁷ squadron of French ships, under the command of the vice-admiral, conducted the royal pair, who arrived at Leith on Whitfun-eve, at ten o'clock of the night⁹. Nor is it unworthy ^{19 May} of remark that, having been retarded by the wind opposite to Scarborough, some of the discontented English came on board, and representing their grievances under Henry's tyranny, warmly solicited James to enter England with an army, assuring him of every support; a scene which was also repeated at another place¹. The bishop of Limoges was the only man of rank who accompanied the queen²; who, upon her landing, lifted a handful of sand to her mouth, and thanking God for her safety, prayed with emphatic sensibility for happiness to the land, and its people³. The French vessels soon after returned, except the Salamander, a large ship of war, which, with its complete ammunition, was among the presents of Francis to James⁴. Magdalen, whose countenance and manners were impressed with the most winning sweetness, and over whose charms the paleness of disease seemed only to spread a veil more tender and alluring, was received with the warmest regard by the people; and entered the capital amid splendid processions, and decorations, and peals of joy and applause⁵, within forty days to be converted into funereal fables, and dirges for her death.

⁹ O. Sir Thomas Clifford to Cromwell, Berwick 26 May, B. VII, 216. O. Clifford to Henry, same date, ib. 230: Clifford asserts that James, when he passed Berwick, said if he lived a year, he would break a spear on an Englishman's breast. ¹ Ibid. ² Ibid.

³ Lindsay, 248. Drummond, 206. ⁴ Clifford's letter.

⁵ Less. 446. Lindsay, 248. A particular description of these scenes of triumph may be found in Sir David Lindsay's poem on the death of this queen. An idea of the pageants of the times may be formed from Vespasian, B. II, an illuminated ms. giving a detail of the entry of Mary of England, wife of Louis XII, into Paris.

During

1537 During the absence of James few transactions of moment had occurred. The lawless part of his subjects had been so much daunted by his vigorous administration, that the regency was quietly obeyed, though the original letters⁶ whisper a slight commotion in the north, which must have been easily suppressed. While James was at Rouen, on his return, he on the third, or more probably on the twenty third, of April made a solemn revocation of all grants past in his minority, prejudicial to the crown, as having then attained the age of twenty five years or compleat majority⁷; a practice usual with his predecessors. Henry, jealous of his intimate connection with France, and suspicious of the papal influence over him and Francis, had in the end of the preceding, and the beginning of this year, sent successive envoys into Scotland, to inspect the state of affairs, and the disposition of the people, who were supposed to be excited by the clergy into a desire of war with England; an event the more to be dreaded, as great discontents prevailed in that country. The suppression of the monasteries had produced the insurrection headed by Aske and others, in the north, which continued for some months before its complete eradication could be effected⁸.

Ralph Sadler was the first and chief envoy to Scotland, and commenced a career of abilities which frequently commanded his future services between the kingdoms, for half a century, his last embassy being to James VI in 1587. He was, in

⁶ Instructions to Ray, after quoted.

⁷ Acts, f. 126. James was born on the 10th of April, as above evinced, and some contraction has occasioned the change of date from the 13th or 23d, to the 3d. Yet as his birth happened on easter eve, it is likely that it was computed from Easter to Easter, as the letter of Magnus quoted in the commencement of this reign seems to prove. In 1537 easter fell on the 1st of April. ⁸ Herbert's Henry VIII, 476, &c.

passing,

passing, to observe the state of the commotion, and of the popular disposition, in the north of England; then to repair to Scotland, with credences to the queen-mother, and to the council of regency; and to examine the general inclinations towards peace, or war, and the sentiments entertained of Henry's decided secession from the Roman see⁹. He found Margaret at variance with Methven, her third husband, whom she accused of wasting her revenues and loading them with profuse debts; she had even proceeded so far as to institute a process of divorce¹: and a report was spread that she was about to enter into a nunnery, but Sadler's sagacity rightly judged this rumour "not to be gospel:" her influence however was a nullity. The council, warmly devoted to the papal influence, rather excited the people to war: and the danger was not small, as he found the north of England fermenting with sedition, in so much that the inhabitants of Newcastle would have joined the rebels, had not the loyal exertions of the mayor interposed³.

Sadler left Scotland in the beginning of February; and was followed, in April, by an envoy more obscure, and better enabled to perform the office of a spy. This was Henry Ray pursuivant of Berwick, whose instructions were, to sound the dispositions of the Scots to the reported war, and to perceive if discontents prevailed among them on account of a tax imposed by James, to defray the expence of his voyage to France, it being reported that a commotion had appeared in the north.

⁹ O. Sadler to Cromwell, 28 Jan. B. II, 283.

¹ O. Margaret to Henry, 10 Feb. B. I, 160. O. Margaret to Norfolk, B. I, 191. ² Sadler's letter 28 Jan.

³ Ibid. Margaret, in her letter to Henry, thanks him for the message sent by Sadler, in her son's absence, and says if James were a kind son, and would enforce obedience to her *in all parts* (points,) she could serve Henry. A modest expectation!

1537 of Scotland, whither some peers had proceeded with a military force: Ray was, above all, to paint the state of England as flourishing in unanimity, and to exaggerate the power of Henry⁴. The pursuivant, having arrayed himself in a cloke and hat, "after the Scottish fashion," proceeded on his mission; and his report was that the Scottish peers were universally inclined to France; and that the bishop of Aberdeen was particularly inimical to the English reformation, and to the government of Henry, which he considered as oppressive to the poor, probably alluding to the suppression of the monasteries, where their necessity was relieved with food: that the king was daily expected; but that Margaret had engaged to inform Henry of the Scottish affairs, after signifying her ludicrous desire that Norfolk should not commence hostilities, till she were divorced from her husband, which event would take place in a month, for if war should intervene the peers would assign her revenues to him⁵. It appears from other letters that the council of regency, guided by the clerical members, had artfully disposed the minds of the commons to war, as a mean of preventing the English reformation from passing into a country engaged in hostility; and that an order had been issued for supplying the people with offensive and defensive armour; and the quantity of French gold imported by James yet further increased the apprehensions of England⁶.

June The mind of the Scottish king was certainly now immersed in some great design; and he seemed to have exchanged all his former pleasures for the sole pursuit of ambition. His residence in France, where an absolute and vigorous government

⁴ C. Instructions to Ray, B. I, 130. C. Other instructions to the same, B. III, 248.

⁵ O. Ray's report, 23 April, B. I, 320.

⁶ O. Sir J. Lowther to (Cumberland?) 24 April, B. III, 215. Another St. Mark's day, 25 April, ib. 214.

prevailed,

prevailed, his high marriage, his alliance with Francis, the ¹⁵³⁷ wealth with which his queen had filled his coffers, conspired to open his mind to new views, and to impart pride and ambition to his counsels. He supported the English marauders on the frontiers; and even flattered the hopes of the rebels against Henry⁷. His revenue was allotted to warlike preparations; and only six dishes of meat were allowed to be presented on the royal table⁸. But the death of Magdalen, which was daily expected as she was consumed by a hectic fever, speedily happened, and for a season converted ambition and military preparations into the deepest sorrow of her husband, and of the nation⁹. 7 July

In narrating some events of this year, which have been thought to throw an indelible stain on the memory of James, the testimony of Buchanan, an ear if not an eye witness, shall be often followed; and he has the credit, notwithstanding his enmity to kings, and to this monarch in particular, of having given the most favourable account of those transactions, evidently shewing that the country and times looked with the eye of candour, if not approbation, upon incidents which religious or party zeal was afterwards to magnify into acts of the most sanguinary despotism.

It has already been narrated, amid the events of the preceding year, that John Forbes, the eldest son of lord Forbes, had been accused of treason by Huntley. Buchanan says that one Strahan was the chief witness, a person of dubious reputation,

⁷ O. Norfolk to Cromwell, 3 July 1537, B. VII, 224.

⁸ Ibid. "He doth kepe so small an house, that there is but only VI messys of mete allowed in his house: and the quene his wife not like to scape withoute deathe, and that not long unto, as I am infourmed by diverse waies."

⁹ Less. 446. Buch. XIV, 53. Lindsay, 248. The dates differ as usual, Lindsay has the 5th, Lesley the 10th. Buchanan seems the most exact.

1537 } who conspired with Huntley against the life of Forbes¹. However this be, the latter was tried by Argyle, the chief justice, with the usual Scottish jury of fifteen; and in addition to the former charge of a design to assassinate the king, it was alledged that he was attached to England, and had engaged in a mutiny excited at Jedburgh, while the Scottish army was on its march to defend the borders against the English arms. Forbes asserted his innocence to the last hour, but was found guilty and suffered at Edinburgh the death of a traitor². Buchanan, who betrays ignorance of the delay of a year between the accusation and the punishment, asserts that James was misled by the enemies of Forbes; but the trial remains³, and there is every reason to believe from the delay, from the names of the jury, from the complete formality, that the guilt was substantiated without any sinister influence. That James had no enmity to Forbes is granted by all writers; and he was at the same time so conscious of his own integrity, that he admitted the brothers of the traitor to his favour, and one of them even into an office in his family⁴ a confidence perhaps unknown in that age of deep revenge, after any intentional injury, or dishonour, had been offered. Lord Forbes was soon released,

Saturday
14 July

¹ Buch. XIV, 53. Arnot, in his Criminal Trials, supposes that Forbes incurred enmity by being a protestant, because Buchanan says he was "*et magnæ familiæ, et factionis, princeps*;" but *factio* also implies a clan, or any band of followers; and is by the classical writers always used in a bad sense, so that Buchanan, a protestant, should use it to point out his own sect is not credible. On the contrary he would have dwelled on Forbes's principles, and extolled him as a martyr. It is rather to be believed that Forbes was, like the other northern peers, warmly devoted to the Roman faith: and his repeated crimes, mentioned under the preceding year, evince that his *religion* was not the object.

² O. Sir Thomas Clifford to Henry, 26 July, B. III, 187. Lest. 446. Lindsay, 233.

³ Arnot, p. 1.

⁴ Buch. XIV, 53.

and

and the estate was unforfeited; so that no appeal could have ¹⁵³⁷ been made to avarice.

The fate of Forbes, long protracted, excited little attention, when compared with a concomitant, but, as far as appears, a totally detached event. Within a week after the death of Magdalen, while James was lost in the retirement of sorrow, the nation was amazed with the discovery and punishment of another conspiracy against the life of their sovereign. The accuser was one Lyon, whose character even Buchanan does not pretend to impeach⁵.

The person accused by Lyon attracted more commiseration, from the sex, from the rank, and even from the punishment. Jane Douglas, sister of Angus, widow of John Lyon lord Glamis, and wife of Archibald Campbell of Kepneith, was the unhappy victim. This lady, her husband, her son the young lord Glamis, John Lyon his relation, and an old priest, were indicted for designs against the life of James, by poison, or witchcraft, with the intention of restoring the house of Angus. Lady Glamis was condemned to the flames, the savage punishment of the imaginary crime of witchcraft; and suffered her ^{Tuesday} fate on the castlehill of Edinburgh, amidst a croud of spectators, ^{17 July} who ceased not to admire her mature, yet youthful, elegance of form, and the masculine firmness of her mind⁶. Her husband Campbell, endeavouring to escape from the castle, was dashed to pieces on the rocks, which form the base of that sublime edifice. Her son, yet in extreme youth, was released but his lands were unjustly detained in forfeiture⁷. Lyon, in remorse, real or pretended, for the ruin of the chief of his family, endeavoured in vain to redeem the estate by avowing his accusation false, as Buchanan relates; though it be difficult

⁵ Ibid. 54.⁶ Buch. XIV, 54.⁷ Ibid.

1537 in that case to perceive how he could have escaped the iron hand of the law.

There were also imprisoned, on account of those treasonable designs, lord Forbes, William Forbes his cousin, the *lards* of Wedderburn, Whytingham, and Glaybarve, an esquire named Hugh Douglas, Robert Douglas, Peter Carmichael, Mr. David Strahan, and several other persons^{*}, who all appear to have been dismissed without punishment.

Such were those transactions, over which some obscurity yet remains. Lesley briefly passes the affair; and our protestant historians in their enmity to James concur in denying the criminality of the sufferers. They however allow that the king was deceived by accusers inflamed with personal enmity: and that he did not pardon is not surprizing, when it is reflected that the chief cause of the disorders in his kingdom arose from the lenity shewn to crimes by his predecessors, and the regents, with whom money was often equal to innocence; a consideration which appears to have induced a vow, or resolution, of James, never to pardon those found guilty by the common course of law. The king was accused of indulging his just enmity to the house of Douglas in the punishment of lady Glamis: but with more justice may our historians be arraigned, for partiality to that family, a most potent and popular name in Scotland. Yet a friend of the laws, of the public tranquillity, of the welfare of his country, will prefer the pacific virtues of the royal house of Stuart to the turbulent fame of that

^{*} O. Sir Thomas Clifford to Henry, 26 July, B. III, 187. The writer says that lady Glamis suffered, "without any substanciall ground or proyf of mattir," but his testimony is that of an enemy, and the cause of the Douglasses was patronised by England. It is worthy of remark that Clifford thus begins, "Please it your most Royal Majesty," whereas preceding letters bear only "most noble grace."

of Douglas; in foreign war the object indeed of admiration, ¹⁵³⁷ but in domestic tranquillity, of the most severe censure. That the king, after forgetting that lady Glamis was the sister of Angus for no less than nine years after that earl's banishment, should suddenly, and in the very crisis of domestic and national affliction, exchange sentiments of sorrow for those of vengeance, seems neither probable in itself, nor agreeable to the laws of human nature. Even his enemies allow him to have been misled by false accusations: but it appears highly probable that the accusations were not false. The retired life of lady Glamis, alledged as a proof of her innocence, might only afford more room for secret guilt; and the ignorance of her friends and servants would only argue her prudence. Witchcraft was in that age, and long after, firmly believed, and punished by fire, even in the most civilized countries in Europe: nor is it a crime in James that he was not a philosopher before philosophy was revived: perhaps the very death of the queen, which again left the king in a solitude deprived of posterity, might have been by superstition imputed to magic, and regarded as a pledge of her husband's danger. The conspirators imprisoned on account of this last design appear to have been all adherents of the house of Douglas; Hume of Wedderburn was, by the mother, the nephew of Angus. That the earl was innocent may be admitted; but he was counselled by his brother Sir George Douglas, whose known violence was certainly capable of such a crime. James repeatedly expresses his apprehensions for his life, when he was kept in constraint by the Douglasses⁹; and in proceeding to the conflict of Linlithgow Sir George openly menaced his person. The intercession of Francis, during the residence of James in his dominions,

⁹ Letters to Henry, 1528.

¹⁵³⁷ was the last, and vain, hope of the family. Its failure reduced them to all the violence of despair. The letters of Penman to Sir George his employer, above mentioned, betray a malice and designs the most horrid. "The king is crazed, and ill spoken of by his people:" he has "beggared all Scotland:" "all are weary of him:" "James shall do the commandment of the Douglasses, God willing:"—"all hate him, and say he must *go down*:" "his glass will soon run out." These diabolical expressions against a prince in the vigour of early youth, what can they insinuate, but poison, or the dagger? Could they be addressed to a person who did not seal them with approbation? And could a more fit, or secret, agent than a sister, be employed to promote the interests of her family at any risk? Nor is even the severity of her punishment without excuse; for the vigorous administration of James might embrace the opportunity of teaching the turbulent nobles the important lesson, that the law knows no distinctions of rank.

About the same time Sir Adam Ottirburn, formerly ambassador in England, was imprisoned for intercourse with the Douglasses, during his residence at London: and Chesolm a merchant of Edinburgh, attached to the English interest, incurred the same disgrace¹.

July James continued his attention to his military preparations. His artillery at Dunbar, Tantallon, and other fortresses, occupied much of his care. Sir Thomas Clifford informs Henry²,
26 July that, for a month past, James had at least twice in the week secretly repaired to Dunbar, at twelve o'clock in the night, or after that hour, with a train of only six persons; and, after remain-

¹ O. Sir W. Eure to Cromwell, 12 June 1538, B. III, 249. Magnus in 1525, (B. II, 30), had applied for a pension to both, so that their imprisonment was not without grounds. ² Letter above quoted.

ing a day or two, returned also by night: that the Scottish ar- ¹⁵³⁷
tillery was in excellent condition, James lending it his whole
attention, undiverted by any pleasure: and that Berwick from
its ruinous state was exposed to imminent danger. It is im-
possible to divine the intentions of the Scottish monarch, who
might perhaps wish to avail himself of the discontents in the
north of England to recover Berwick: that he aspired to the
English throne, by the aid of the catholics, seems dubious;
and the birth of a son to Henry, in the ensuing October, must
have extinguished the idle hope, if ever entertained.

Margaret, the queen-mother, now in her forty eighth year,
had proceeded so far in a divorce against Methven her husband,
that the sentence was written, and ready for public pronun-
ciation; when the king, sensible of the ridicule, commanded
it to be stopped³.

As soon as decency would permit, an embassy was sent to
France, to conclude another marriage for James. Mary of
Guise, daughter of the duke of Guise, and widow of the duke
of Longueville, was the object of the royal choice; and the
chief ambassador was David Beton abbot of Arbroth, for his
former services rewarded by Francis with the bishopric of Mi-

³ Robert Holywell, an English fanatic, visited Scotland this summer, to ex-
ercise his trade as a fadler. He heard different Scots say, as they read books of
prophecy, that James would be crowned in London, about midsummer in the
third year thereafter, (1540.) He pretended that an angel appeared twice to
him, saying "Arise and show your prince that the Scots wolde never be true
to him." He was *put to the rack*, but made no further discovery. See his con-
fession, Cal. B. I, 122, dated 12 June, 29 H 8, 1538, and signed "Per me
Edmundum Walsyngham."

⁴ O. Margaret to Norfolk, no date, B. I, 191. She accuses James of for-
feiting his promise to consent, given when she sold him her "mains of Dun-
bar:" complains that Henry had not written since Sadler's departure; and begs
Norfolk to interfere in procuring the divorce, as her husband gave her lands to
James.

1537 repoix in France, and by the influence of that monarch with
 20 Dec. the pope now elevated to the rank of cardinal. He was afterwards joined by lord Maxwell, and the heir of Glencairn⁵.

1538 Meanwhile James further enriched his coffers, by assigning the opulent abbacies, and priories, of St. Andrews, Holyroodhouse, Melrose, Kelso, and Coldingham, to his natural children, whereby he became intitled to draw the revenues of these benefices, till the nominal possessors should have arrived at the years of maturity⁶.

The prosecution of the protestants, intermitted for three years by more important objects, again commenced with fresh vigour. The celebrated Buchanan was among the number of those imprisoned; who escaping first passed into England, and thence to France. His satire on the Franciscans, while it pleased James (who was inimical to those busy and jesuitical friars, being far from bigotted, and only protecting the clergy because their opulence could best pay for his favour,) had given the deepest offence to the church, and the poet prudently withdrew from her resentment⁷.

The second matrimony of James being concluded, Mary of Guise proceeded to Scotland, conducted by an admiral of France,
 10 June and lord Maxwell. The queen landing at Balcomie in Fife,

⁵ Lessl. 447. Lindfay, 248. Beton was created a cardinal, 13 Kal. Jan. 1538, or the 20th Dec. 1537. Keith Bishops, 23.

⁶ Lessl. 447. Yet James Stuart, the eldest son by Miss Shaw, had many benefices before Aug. 1536, when Tantallon was taken from him, and given to James Stuart the progeny of Miss Erskine. Scott. Cal.

⁷ Buch. vita propria. The date 1539 on the margin is erroneous; and, not to mention that it occurs again afterwards, it disagrees with the "brevi post" in the text, after transactions of 1537: nor does Buchanan mention Mary of Guise, who arrived in June 1538, after he had left Scotland: nor was cardinal Beton in France in 1539, though Buchanan found him there in 1538 the real year of his escape. Yet, in his unchronological history, he dates the event 1539: if not an error of the press in the vitiated first edition.

was met by James at St. Andrew's, where the marriage was celebrated⁸. This princess, yet young and unexperienced, 1538 appears not to have entered the thorny path of political intrigue during her husband's life; but the connexion with the bigotted house of Guise was yet further to cement James with the Roman see, and to prepare misfortunes for himself and his ill-fated daughter.

The new marriage which afforded a prospect of progeny strengthened the government of James, who continued to hold the rein over his nobles with a more severe than politic hand. He withdrew from the new earl of Bothwell the lordship of Lidsdale, as a nursery of free-booters only to be held in order by the royal power⁹. From his natural brother Murray, and from Huntley he also seized some lands¹, apparently on the same pretexts, which though just were liable to misrepresentation. Ottirburn and Chesolm were delivered from prison, on their payment of large fines²: but Sir James Colville, the comptroller, was lodged in ward, till his accompts should be settled³; and another victim to the church was prepared in friar Jerom Ruffel, a man of eminent learning, who was imprisoned at Dumfries⁴, and was in the following year to suffer the death of a heretic. And the preponderance of the clergy was yet further increased by the return of cardinal Beton from Sept. France⁵. Nov. 5 Dec.

⁸ Buch. XIV, 55, dates her arrival the 14th June; Lesley 447, the 10th, and at Crail. The French admiral was d'Annabault. Drummond, 209.

Francis I assigned her an annuity of 20,000 livres, as appears from a commission by James, 7 March 1539, to Oliver de Bourgogne, treasurer of Bruges, to receive it. Scott. Cal.

⁹ O. Sir T. Wharton to Cromwell, 5 Sept. B. VII, 232. ¹ Ib.

² Ib. ³ O. same to same, 7 Nov. B. VII, 233.

⁴ Ibid. Reports of Mary's pregnancy were prevalent, but she had no child till 1540.

⁵ The date of his return is evinced, from the chartulary of Arbroath, by Keith, Bishops, 23.

1539

The discontents in the north of England continuing, a council of state, Dr. Magnus being one of the members, had been appointed to sit at York, to protect the peaceable and controul the turbulent. Dr. Hilyard⁶, and other Roman catholics fled into Scotland, and in vain invited James to support their cause by arms. Ballads and prophecies were now current on the frontiers, in which it was asserted that the Scottish monarch was doomed speedily to ascend the throne of England; and numerous "blasphemies," as Henry styles them, were circulated against the libidinous and tyrannical head of the English church⁷. The council of York remonstrated with James against those libellous rimes and prophecies; and lord Maxwell warden of the western marches was instructed to suppress them. At the same time James dispatched a letter to the bishop of Landaff, president of the council of the north, manifesting his pacific intentions, notwithstanding the ballads, and "fantastic prophecies," as he denominates them with high contempt of disbelief⁸. He soon after issued a proclamation, addressed to the warden of the western marches, narrating that divers despiteful ballads and rimes had been composed by his subjects to the dishonour of Henry, which might occasion suspicions of enmity on the part of James, as he understood from the letters of Eure, Wharton, and other English chiefs on the frontiers; but asserting that the ballads were imported from England, and ordaining that all who possessed copies of such compositions should destroy them, on the high penalty of

⁶ James to the Council at York, ms. Epist. Reg. Scot. 7 Feb. regni 27 (1540) Instructions to Sadler, prefixed to his Letters, Edin. 1720. O. Sir W. Eure to Cromwell, 6 Jan. 1539, B. VII, 243.

⁷ O. Maxwell to Wharton, 30 Jan. B. III, 181.

⁸ O. B. I, 295, 1 Feb. regni 26=1539.

death

death and confiscation⁹. The Scottish king at the same time ¹⁵³⁹ sent a letter to Sir William Eure, the captain of Berwick, ^{6 Feb.} containing favourable sentiments of his endeavours for the preservation of peace; insinuating that the ballads were composed by the Scottish malefactors and rebels, (by these harsh denominations perhaps understanding the protestant refugees,) whom Henry admitted into his realm; but assuring Eure that he lent no credit nor attention "to superstitious rehearsal of prophecy," and declaring that, if any of his subjects be found to have been the authors, "they shall suffer to the death"; a punishment perhaps warranted by the statute of *leasing-making*, ordained by the first James, and to be renewed in a Scottish parliament held the ensuing year. The pacific procedures of James are evinced from his conduct on this occasion; and his warlike preparations were probably only intended to put the kingdom in a state of defence, or to curb and awe the factious.

David Beton, not contented with the reversion of the see of St. Andrew's, (to which he was to succeed on the death of his uncle James Beton in the autumn of this year,) and with the rank of cardinal, aspired also to that of legate a latere for Scotland². The clergy continued their infatuated conduct against heretics, forgetting that persecution is the seminary of doctrine; and delivered to the flames seven innocent and pious men. Keller and Beverege, two dominican friars, Sir Duncan Simson of Stirling a priest, Robert Forester a gentleman of that town, and Thomas Forest canon regular of St. Colms in the Forth, and vicar of Dolor in Perthshire, suffered as he-

⁹ Cal. B. VII, 238.

¹ O. ib. 252. The charge against the Scottish refugees is truly absurd, and only calculated to excite the enmity of Henry against them.

² Sadler's Letters, 18.

1539 retics upon the same day, on the castle-hill of Edinburgh³.
 28 Feb. And, in the course of this year, Jerom Ruffel the grey friar, and Kennedy a young gentleman, were to encounter the like fate at Glasgow⁴. Many protestants escaped to England, claiming the protection of Norfolk the lieutenant of the north.

James indulged the church in her favourite exhibitions, but was disgusted with her furious zeal; and the flames of inquisition blazed no more during his reign. The fewness of her martyrs is highly honourable to Scotland, a very small number being to be sacrificed during the reign of Mary; the death of Wishart was expiated by that of cardinal Beton; and in 1558 an aged priest was given to the fire by the bigotry of John Hamilton, archbishop of St. Andrew's, who long after, by just retaliation, was himself to suffer on the gibbet.

Sept. James Beton, the turbulent archbishop of St. Andrew's, having at length closed his existence, David his nephew succeeded to his see, and ambition⁵.

1540 The transactions of this year commence with a negotiation
 21 Jan. on the borders, in which it was mutually agreed that all fugitives, from either realm, should in future be surrendered to their respective sovereigns⁶. Sir William Eure appeared for Henry; and Mr. Thomas Ballenden and Mr. Henry Balnavis for the Scottish king. This affair of little moment in itself, is
 26 Jan. connected with an important letter from Eure to the lord Privy Seal of England⁷, in which he narrates some conversations with Ballenden, a man of aged experience, and eminent abilities, concerning the court and character of James, on which they reflect a new and strong light. In Ballenden's opinion

³ Spottiswood, 66. Keith hist. 9. Less. 450. Buch. XIV, 55.

⁴ Spott. 67, Keith hist. ib. ⁵ Keith Bishops, p. 23.

⁶ See the agreement in the middle of the unpag'd ms. Bib. Reg. 7, C. XVI.

⁷ O. ibid.

James, and the temporal lords of his council, were inclined to ¹⁵⁴⁰ a reform. A play⁸ had been represented at Linlithgow, on the late feast of epiphany, before James, his queen, and the spiritual and temporal peers, the purport of which tended wholly to the reformation both of church and state. At the end of this theatrical effort, James addressed himself to the chancellor, and the other bishops, and desired them to promote a design so meritorious, else he should send six of the proudest of them to Henry, and as they were ordered so should he order the others. The chancellor mildly answered that one word from their monarch was sufficient to induce them to amend: but James replied with some warmth that he would not spare many words, though he suspected that their effect would be vain. Ballenden desired a copy of the English acts of parliament against the papists, for the private study of James; insinuated that he intended to expell the spirituality from all civil offices and affairs, and that after the queen's coronation⁹, which was fixed for the first day of February, a convention of the peers was to be held, in which, as was reported, a reform of the spiritual order was to be the grand object of deliberation.

The emperor Charles V, having proceeded to Paris to hold a conference with Francis I¹, the English monarch became

⁸ A sketch of this play is given, from which it is clear that it was the original draught of Sir David Lindsay's noted drama, called a Satire on the Three Estates, printed at Edinburgh 1602, 4to, and reprinted London 1792 in three volumes of old Scottish poems. The uncommon personages, and plot, compleatly identify the production; but the introductory farce of the old man and his young wife was too indecent for the eye and ear of Mary of Guise, and was only added in 1552, as appears from a date in it, which led the editor to infer that all the play was of that epoch.

⁹ She was now pregnant; and James was preparing ships for his celebrated voyage of this year. Ibid.

¹ Herbert's Henry VIII, 514. Mezeray, Abr. IV, 608.

more

1540 more and more alarmed, lest the pontiff should persuade James to join these princes in an attempt to deprive him of his dominions. To frustrate this intention, if entertained, Henry Feb. dispatched Sir Ralph Sadler on an embassy into Scotland. His instructions were², to excite suspicion against cardinal Beton, now the prime minister and chief counsellor of James: to persuade this monarch to abjure the authority of Rome, and to seize the monasteries: and to sound his intentions concerning the reported league against England. But Henry's avarice only sent a present of a few horses to conciliate James, though he must have known that the gold of France, and of the church, abounded in the Scottish court, and that it ought to have been balanced by a profusion, more laudably shewn in securing peace, than in maintaining war; though this was a truth which all his past experience was never to teach him. Yet the ambassador was further instructed to allure James by the hopes of the English succession, if prince Edward died; a vain expectation, which prudence could never weigh against present and solid advantages.

A negotiation so unskillful in its foundations terminated as was to have been expected. The letters produced to raise jealousy against Beton, and which were said to have been found in a Scottish ship wrecked at Bamborough³, were directed to Rome, but James avowed his previous knowledge of the contents. He refused to seize the possessions of the church, as he asserted that the clergy were always ready to supply his wants, and any abuses were of easy reformation: when Sadler stated the useless and wicked lives led by the monks, the king's

² Sadler's Letters, Edin. 1720, 8vo. p. 1.

³ This, though denied by the Scots, appears to have been the truth, for it is mentioned in a letter from the council at York to Cromwell, 5 Jan. 1539, Cal. B. VII, 245.

impatience

impatience answered, "By God they that be naught you shall hear that I shall redress, and make them religious men according to their professions." To the article concerning a league against England, James firmly, and it is believed most justly, denied any such intention, with solemn asseverations, and even with oaths. And Sadler having proposed a conference with Henry, the Scottish king objected, except that Francis were also to be present, as was indeed the original proposition six years before. He however added that he was always inclined to the conference, but the lords opposed the design ⁴.

Some other points of this memorable embassy deserve attention. Sadler avers that the clergy had presented to the king a list of not less than three hundred and sixty of the chief nobles and barons, whose estates might be confiscated on a charge of heresy, and that Arran stood at the head of the roll⁵: that James said the clergy dreaded him, but praised the cardinal as devoted to his interest⁶. The ambassador found that the king was well inclined, but was forced to use the council of the clergy, as the nobles wanted capacity⁷. Yet the churchmen were unpopular, especially Beton who had recently issued a proclamation ordaining the death of a heretic to any person who should eat an egg on forbidden days⁸; as it is indeed the infatuation of a falling system to consider trifles as barriers, and defend them with insane obstinacy: and it is thus that the vehemence of party drives the many to opposite extremities of the field, while the wise and moderate few are left in the middle exposed to the weapons of either side. The nobles and

⁴ Sadler's Letters, 15, 55, &c.

⁵ Ibid. 101. James rejected this roll of proscription with high indignation. Knox 30, ed. 1644. Keith, 12.

⁶ Sadler, 56, 57.

⁷ Ib. 61. Yet the clergy were so grossly ignorant as to mistake a Greek device for Latin, and ludicrously misinterpret it, p. 63, 64.

⁸ Ib. 62.

gentlemen

1540 gentlemen disposed to the reformation Sadler found numerous, but chiefly in the younger class of men⁹; for the aged seldom adopt new opinions, however incontrovertible, being unwilling to confess their acquired knowledge to be vain, and to yield to youth the palm of experience. Twenty years were accordingly to elapse, before the benefits of the reformation were to extend to Scotland.

The situation of James had become extremely difficult; and it is no wonder that he was soon to fall a victim to the embarrassment, as it might have confounded the most aged and skillful politician. The majority of his nobility and people were now decidedly inclined to the reformation; which was regarded as an object even of necessity in Scotland, as the clergy engrossed almost the whole wealth of the country. No sovereign was ever more zealous for the benefit of his realm than James V, and his consent to the desired change would have proved, in the issue, highly fortunate to himself and his people. If he despised the selfish aims of Henry, there were before his eyes the glorious examples of his ally Frederic I of Denmark, who established the protestant system in his dominions in 1526; and of the heroic Gustaf Wase of Sweden,

⁹ Ib. p. 61. More minute objects of this embassy are, that Sadler was instructed to remonstrate to James against his keeping stores of sheep, and other mean modes of increasing his revenue, p. 6. A ridiculous and affronting proposition, but such were Henry's methods of conciliation! James, p. 38, denied the charge, and said the sheep were kept by his tenants on his lands. But the monarch must, to his high praise, be confuted, "for he had ten thousand sheep going in the Etrick forest, in keeping by Andrew Bell, who made the king as good count of them, as they had gone in the bounds of Fife." Lindsay 237. Nor can any thing be more odious than to hear vice blaming virtue. Sadler had his first audience when James was at mass, p. 24, a common practice with our monarchs ever formal in religion. The king's fondness for hawks, herons, and the river, is remarked, p. 59.

who

who three years after followed the same maxims. Yet both ¹⁵⁴⁰ these events were the consequences of revolutions; and it required a mind strong even to violence, like that of Henry VIII, to change an established system, so deeply interwoven with every branch of government. The gross imprudence of Henry in the management of the English influence in Scotland, but particularly in supporting the infamous Douglasses against their sovereign, even till the death of James, must have rendered his conduct and counsels suspicious, and deservedly to be shunned. He had in a manner forced James to fix a connexion with France; a political tie which of itself forbade him to adopt a system reprobated by his most powerful ally. The talents of the clergy, particularly of Beton, the incapacity and illiterature of the nobles, the matrimonial alliance with the bigotted house of Guise, all afford motives operating to excuse James: and we may lament, but cannot in candour blame, when we perceive that prince persist to the last in the religion of his ancestors.

The Scottish monarch had long revolved an important design, highly honourable to his abilities and intentions, and to his desire of promoting the union, tranquillity, and happiness of the realm. His vigorous and prudent government had reduced the borderers, and other marauders, to subordination. The isles, and northern extremities of his kingdom, alone remained in ignorance of the laws, and of his power to enforce them. He determined to visit them in person, attended by a force sufficient to chastise the insolent chiefs, and to inspire respect to the guardian of the public order. The voyage was worthy of the intrepidity, and wisdom, of the monarch, being almost as dangerous as one of distant discovery, the people and the very shores being unknown; and the patriotic prince ordered,

1540 for the general benefit, a skilful pilot, Alexander Lindsay, to attend him, and report the nautical observations¹.

beg. May Arrangements were accordingly made for this interesting expedition. The services of Maxwell, though admiral of Scotland, were declined on this occasion², by the interference of cardinal Beton, whom he had offended in refusing to admit him in escorting the queen from France³. Twelve ships, with ample artillery, were ordered to be ready by the fourteenth day of May. Of these six were allotted to James, and

¹ They were translated into French, and are extant in a beautiful ms. Harl. 3996, "avec augmentation, et illustration, de plusieurs figures, et descriptions, tres necessaires pour la navigation; par Nicolas de Nicolay de Dauphiné, geographe du roi." The translator's travels in Turkey were printed about 1570. In a dedication to the cardinal of Lorraine, whose campaign at Amiens is mentioned, Nicolay says he procured the original when he was in England, from Northumberland the admiral of Henry VIII. These nautical remarks are also printed at Paris, 1583, 4to: and in the *Miscellanea Scotica*, London, 1710, 8vo.

Our historians have erred in the date of this noted voyage. Lesley puts 1539: Buchanan 1534, and is followed by later writers. But the epoch is ascertained by a letter of James, (ms. Epist. R. S.) to Henry, dated 29 July, of his reign the 27th year—1540, in which he says that as there was no complaint on the borders, he had visited the isles, north and south, to introduce justice and policy; that in his absence redress was denied by the English wardens, till a hawk and a deer were restored; and he sends Rothfay herald to remonstrate.

The date is also evinced, from the birth of the eldest prince, which was on the 22d day of May 1540, as appears from a letter to Henry of that date, the 27th year of his reign, mentioning the birth of a prince "and successor." Ib. On the 2d Nov. 1540, the lands of Morton were given by James to Andrew Mitchelson, for bringing the tidings. Scott. Cal. sub data. Langton's letter, (B. I, 145, after quoted,) concerning the intended navigation, as to take place on the 29th of May, states the birth of a prince; and that the Scots made bonfires on trinity funday at night, which day in 1540 was the 23d of May.

² O. Sir Edward Aglionby to Sir T. Wharton, 4 May, B. III, 217.

³ Lindsay, 249.

his own immediate dependants, and soldiers. Three were 1540 appointed solely for victualling the fleet. The remaining three were separately assigned to the cardinal, Huntley, and Arran; Beton being to conduct five hundred men of Fife and Angus; Huntley, besides gentlemen and thirty of the royal household, was to lead five hundred of the north; to Arran was given the similar command of five hundred of the west, exclusive of the gentlemen, and twenty-four servants, in his train⁴.

The queen's pregnancy was so far advanced that her delivery was daily expected: as James could not decently be absent at the time, a delay of more than a fortnight was the consequence⁵. Meanwhile England became suspicious of the intentions of this armament: some asserting that James designed a voyage to France, or Flanders, to meet Francis, or the emperor: others reported Ireland as the probable destination, as in lent eight Irish gentlemen had arrived at the Scottish court, with letters from most of the great chiefs of Ireland, offering homage to James, if he would support their religion against Henry's innovations⁶. But as James himself was not to lead above two thousand men, suspicion was embarrassed; though, to prevent any attack in his absence, Murray was ordered to command a body of troops on the frontiers⁷. At length Mary of Guise presented a prince and apparent successor 22 May to the exulting monarch, and nation⁸; and her health permitted James to proceed a few days after that fortunate event⁹.

When

⁴ Aglionby's letter, B. III, 217.

⁵ O. John Thomson to Sir T. Wharton, 4 May, B. III, 219, which adds that her delivery was expected about trinity funday.

⁶ O. Sir Brian Langton to Cromwell, no date, B. I, 145. ⁷ Ibid.

⁸ C. James to Henry 22 May, r. 27, in ms. Epist. R. S. in bibl. Reg.

⁹ Not till after the 28th of May, on which day cardinal Beton, in a solemn court of spiritual and temporal peers held at St. Andrew's, condemned Sir John

1540

When the cause of delay was thus removed, the royal standard streamed from the admiral ship; the sails were hoisted, and the squadron advanced down the majestic course of the Forth, amid the acclamations of numerous spectators on the adjacent hills and shores. They knew not their king's design; but a patriot and a philosopher would have joined their general voice, had he beheld this youthful monarch, after having with the wisdom of years, amid innumerable difficulties, with repeated imminent hazard to his person, established the internal tranquillity of his realm, now proceeding on a voyage, not of war and destruction, but of public benefit; and committing his safety to the tempests, rocks, and shoals, of unknown and perilous seas, in order to spread law and civilization through his dominions.

June

Circumnavigating the variegated coasts of Fife, the bold æstuary of the Tay, the populous shores of Angus, Mearns, and Buchan, studded with commercial towns and romantic villages, the royal fleet doubled the promontory of Kinnaird, passed the rocky heights of Ord, the heathy wilds of Caithness, and displayed the royal banner to the intrepid and industrious natives of the Orkneys, who had now begun to exchange their ancient Gothic ferocity for the mild arts of peace. Little or no exertion of authority was here required: and after charts and nautical remarks, concerning the Orcadian seas and inlets, had been arranged by Alexander Lindsay, the pilot, the squadron passing the marshy wastes of Strathnavern, doubled the desert and perilous cape of Hvarf or Wrath, which exposes its stern front to the hurricanes from Greenland, and to the mountainous waves of the Atlantic ocean. The distant and

Borthwick to be burnt in effigy for heresy. Keith App. p. 4. Langton, in his letter above quoted, mentions the 29th May as the day finally fixed for the expedition.

lawless

lawless inhabitants of Lewis, Harris, the Vists, rushed from ¹⁵⁴⁰ their muddy hovels to gaze on the lion of Scotland, and trembled when they beheld the artillery of the public guardian levelled against their crimes. The power of the Macdonalds the allies of England, the foes of their country, had been long extinguished; but the Macleods obeyed the royal mandate with conscious fear, and were detained in captivity. Nor did the chieftains of Skey, and the barbarous western shores, escape a similar fate. Again bending his course to the ocean, James visited the isles of Col, Tirey, and Mull; and perhaps sighed over the tombs of his ancestors at Hyona. The indented shores of Argyle, the islands of Jura, Ilay, and Colonsay, the rugged promontory of Cantire, the verdant hills of Arran, Bute the residence of his fathers, did not elude the monarch's presence, or attention, his applause of peaceful industry, his chastisement of predatory insolence. Many of the chieftains were led away in bonds; and James ordering some ships to return with them by their former course to Leith, landed at Dunbarton, after one of the most laudable expeditions ever undertaken by any sovereign¹.

The chieftains seized were detained in several prisons, as hostages for the obedience and tranquillity of their people, and continued in bonds during the life of the king. The principal names were Macleod, Macdonald, Maclain, Macconnel, Macneil, Mackay, Macintosh, Mackenzie, with many others². So effectual was this policy, that peace, industry, and a comparative degree of wealth, began now reluctantly to visit the western shores, and isles, of Scotland; and hardly is there a

¹ Less. 448, 449. Buch. XIV, 48. Lindsay, 236.

² Less. 448, Lindsay, 236.

1540 conflict of the clans known till the reign of James VI³. The people, devoted with blind servility to their chiefs, and more anxious for their lives than for their own, began to obey the laws and royal mandates, with as much readiness as the more civilized provinces of the kingdom.

29 July On his return, James negotiated with England concerning an infraction of the border laws⁴. But another event of more singularity attracted the attention of his subjects. Sir James Hamilton, commonly called the bastard of Arran, who has been repeatedly mentioned as a man only distinguished by personal valour, and by cruel murders, as a favourite of James in his early youth, and afterwards detested by him, was accused of high treason, in favouring the Douglasses in a plot against the king's life: and a criminal court assembling at Edinburgh, 16 Aug. he was found guilty, and suffered the just reward of his cruelties in the death of a traitor. His accuser was of the same name; being a brother of Patrick Hamilton the martyr⁵.

During

³ See the little work called *Conflicts of the Clans*, Glasgow, 1764, 12mo. Drummond, who wrote about 1640, says, p. 204, "this voyage bred great fear in those islanders and *savages*." This common French designation of the highlanders prevails even now, in the term wild highlanders.

⁴ C. James to Henry 29 July. ms. Epist. R. S. The second volume of the printed Epistles begins at Aug. 1539, but offers nothing worthy of historical remark till June 1540, when a letter to O Neil an Irish prince appears, assuring him of protection, p. 73. Though a council of regency had been appointed, during the absence of James, the letters proceed in the royal name. This volume might have been greatly augmented by the insertion of many curious letters from the ms. Reg. 18 B. VI, which seems to have been quite unknown to Ruddiman the learned editor.

On the 31st July 1540 James sent George Hay to the pope, to remonstrate against some infringements of his prerogative. Instructions, 18 B. VI, sub die.

⁵ Lessl. 450, 451. Buch. XIV, 57. Lindsay, 257—260. Keith hist. 11. Lindsay, 257, styles Sir James Hamilton lord Evandale; and of Draphan, p. 258. He was actually in possession of these baronies, as appears from char-

During his patriotic voyage James had heard, or observed, ¹⁵⁴⁰ that great intrusions were made by the fishing vessels of Holland, Flanders, and Bremen, on the privileges of his subjects in the seas of Orkney and Shetland, by advancing too near the shores, and not only interrupting the Scottish fishers, but sometimes even forcibly compelling them to withdraw; a boat with twenty native sailors having, on one of these occasions, been sunk with all its people by the guns of the strangers⁶. The monarch, ever awake to the interests of his realm, ordered Maxwell, the admiral of Scotland, to sail to the islands, and notify his resolution to punish such attempts: but Maxwell finding them refractory, he ordered one or two sailors from each foreign vessel on board, then seizing one of their ships, in order afterwards to convey them to the continent, he in the mean time brought them to Leith. Being produced before the privy council, they were charged, on the penalty of just retaliation, to abstain from such inimical practices, and letters

ters recorded by Scotstarvet. Evandale was gradually won from the Stuarts, the lords, Cal. June 1533, Sept. 1534. The tower of Nauthan (or Draphan) on "the water of Nauthan," lands of Crossford, &c. were acquired from the abbot of Kelso in 1532, as appears from a confirmation of the charter, 4 Jan. 1539. The tower of Nathane, and the lands of Draphan, are also confirmed 14 Aug. 1539. On the 22d Sept. 1539 many lands were granted to Sir James, for building the palaces of Linlithgow and Stirling. Ib. In Oct. that year Sir James granted Glengavel in Evandale, Lanarkshire, to Margaret and her husband Methven. Ib.

The stories concerning Sir James, detailed by our protestant writers, seem invented to shew the judgments of God upon persecutors. It appears not that he was ever restored to the favour of James, and how could he be a judge of a spiritual court? Was Beton's ambition inclined to give up his favourite prerogative to him? The circumstances seem to equal in veracity the apparition mentioned by Lindsay and Buchanan. Had Sir James been just appointed to a high office, he would hardly have conspired against his sovereign, whose continued neglect alone seems to have induced him to designs of desperation.

⁶ Epist. Reg. Sc. II, 81—84.

were

1540 } were sent to the several states certifying the king's firm resolutions on this subject⁷. They were then dismissed in their own vessel, and probably attended to the prohibition for a few years: but the complaint exists in full force even in our time.

3 Dec. A parliament assembled at Edinburgh, wherein James not only confirmed the revocation of all lands, offices, and possessions, alienated from the crown during his minority, formerly issued by him at Rouen, but published a new act of annexation of lands to the royal domains. It comprizes all the isles, "north and south of the two Cantires," that is the Hebudes; the annexation of which to the crown was a stretch of power, but not unjust, when the constant disaffection and depredations of the chiefs are considered, and highly salutary for the promotion of tranquillity and civilization. The Orkney and Shetland islands follow: and are succeeded by the lordships of Douglas, Crawford-Lindsay, Crawford-John, Bonkill, Preston, Tantallon, Bothwell, Jedburgh forest, and the superiority of the county or earldom of Angus. Other forfeitures annexed are Glamis, and its dependencies; Lidsdale, seized three years before, the earl of Bothwell its possessor being attached to the Douglasses: and Evandale the property of Sir James Hamilton⁸.

⁷ Epist. Reg. Sc. II, 81—84.

⁸ Acts, f. 127—f. v. 133. Lidsdale had been assumed in 1537, as appears from Cal. B. VII, 232, quoted under that year. Buchanan, XIV, 53, says Bothwell was banished in 1537; erroneously, for, in the end of 1539, he dates some charters at Aberdeen, perhaps just before he went to Italy. Our historians are always strangers to chronology. It is even doubtful if he were banished at any time, as he repeated his treasons in Dec. 1542, and was absolved in 1544. Epist. R. S. II, 321, 326.

The barony of Bothwell belonged to Angus; and in Nov. 1528 was given to Arran upon the forfeiture of the Douglasses. Scotst. Cal. Lindsay, 262, specially mentions Bothwell as belonging to Angus. It had been forfeited by Douglas 1455, was given to Ramsay by James III; and then passed to lord Hales afterwards earl of Bothwell. Dougl. Peer. 85. Angus had apparently seized, or bought it, in the minority of James V.

The statute of *leasing-making*, instituted by James I against ¹⁵⁴⁰ any attempts to sow dissension between the king and the people, was also reinforced: and grand displays of arms were ordered twice in the year, in the months of June and October, the kinds of weapons and armour being minutely recorded⁹. And the parliament was dismissed, or adjourned, with a general act of amnesty, excepting only the adherents or correspondents of Angus, Sir George Douglas, and their late uncle Archibald; the king warmly bespeaking the affections of his people, as he shall prove to them a grateful and beneficent sovereign¹.

In the ensuing March the national council again assembled: ¹⁵⁴¹ and several statutes were passed to enforce the wavering obedience of the nation to the Roman see. ^{14 Mar.} To argue against the pope's authority imported death: private conventicles, or conferences on religion, were forbidden: heretics who abjure are not nevertheless to converse with catholics; nor, (with singular and truly ecclesiastic severity,) can a person even suspected of heresy be admitted to any office, or privilege, either in the boroughs or elsewhere: fugitives for heresy are held condemned, and any correspondence with them strictly prohibited: and rewards are offered for the discovery of any protestants. Yet, by an ordinance of vague interpretation, the clergy are enjoined to reform their manners, and shew more attention to their duty². When the extreme severity of these decrees, dictated by the blind zeal of Beton, is considered, little wonder can be excited by the tragical fate of that tyrannical churchman.

⁹ Acts, f. v. 129, f. 131, and c. 55, 58, 61. ¹ Ib. c. 62, f. v. 133.

² Keith, hist. 14, 15. In the copies of the ancient edition of our statutes, 1566, these acts against the reformation are torn out.

1541 } The other statutes, though numerous, are of too minute a nature to deserve the attention of history; some which relate to the provision of arms seem to indicate an intention, or apprehension, of war³. Nor is it unworthy of remark that the acts of parliament are now ordered to be printed; that invaluable art being revived, and at length, after an interval of thirty years, reestablished in Scotland⁴.

29 Mar. In a curious letter to the lord privy seal of England⁵, Norfolk relates that the Lancaster herald was then at Edinburgh, and received with favour by James, who assured him of his pacific intentions, though a proclamation had been issued, ordering all men between sixteen and sixty to be ready on a warning of twenty hours, and sixteen great cannons and sixty less were prepared in the castle of the capital: that, at a sermon preached at Linlithgow before the young queen, by a friar who extolled the papal authority, only three bishops and no temporal peers had attended: that the Scottish clergy were afraid, and wished for war to prevent James from following Henry's example: that the Scottish king was a decided enemy to the power of England, the young queen a devotee of Rome, while the queen mother, who had resumed Methven her husband, inclined to the same sentiments: and that many Scottish gentlemen fled to Norfolk, that they might have the privilege of reading the scriptures in English, without exposure to the flames. Norfolk adds that if the wicked priests induce not their sovereign to war this summer, he will take their possessions before christmas, an intention which that peer promises

³ Acts, f. 134, &c.

⁴ Ib. f. v. 142, the final statute of this reign.

⁵ O. Berwick 29th March, B. VII, 228.

to enforce with all his skill⁶. So dubious was still the devo-
tion of James to the church⁷. 1541

After a tumultuous life of fifty-two years, Margaret of
England, the queen mother, died at Methven. Her funeral June?
was solemnized by James, and the peers, with singular mag-
nificence, the body being buried in the church of the Carthu-
sians at Perth, and in the same tomb with James I the
founder, an honour due to her regal spirit and eminent
abilities⁸.

The further transactions of this and the last year of James V,
are not a little obscure; and the invaluable evidence of private
original letters unhappily fails.

Mary of Guise increased her husband's felicity by the birth
of another prince. But, by a singular reverse of fortune, both
the royal infants died within a few days⁹; and the sensibility of
James was deeply affected by the disaster. It is no wonder

⁶ He also mentions that there had, for some time, resided at Berwick a pro-
testant lady, who had been wife to the late captain of Dunbar. "She was in
England, and saw quene Jane. She was Sir Patrick Hamilton's daughter: and
her brother was brent in Scotland iii or iiii yeres past." Hamilton was burnt
in 1528: we should read xiii or xiiii.

⁷ The Scottish clergy granted James a further annual subsidy; and he applies
to the pope for its confirmation in a letter dated 12th April 1541. Epist. R. S.
II, 109.

⁸ Lessl. 449; but he dates her death in 1539, whereas she was alive in 1540,
as we know from Sadler's letters, p. 14, 28, 50. In July 1541 a charter to
lord Methven appears, without the usual mention of the queen-dowager.
Scott. Cal.

In July 1541 James sent Bellenden to England, to manifest his pacific inten-
tions. MS. Reg. 18 B. VI.

⁹ See a letter of condolence from the cardinal of Lorraine, 4 Aug. 1541,
Epist. R. S. II, 133. Lesley erroneously dates this event 1540, the year of
the birth of the first child. Buchanan has the same date: Lindsay is for once
right.

1541 that its singularity should have occasioned superstitious tales: but that our historians should continue to repeat the visions, or apparitions, of sir James Hamilton, and Scot the justice clerk, is strange, and dishonourable to their sagacity. In the infant fanaticism of the reformation, such fables might command faith, and evince the dreadful judgments of God upon persecutors; but they would have been better invented if applied to the sanguinary Henry, or Mary, of England, than to the magnanimous mind of James V.

Cares the most regal and patriotic, mollified the sorrows of the Scottish monarch. From Denmark and Sweden he imported superior breeds of horses, to meliorate the small native race, and his parks were replenished with generous couriers¹. France and Flanders supplied a profusion of artillery, and other military stores; while, with yet more laudable views, artisans of all descriptions were sedulously invited from the same countries, and from Holland, Spain, and England: and the royal munificence secured their abode in Scotland, by the most liberal wages, and even by annual pensions². These godlike exertions to diffuse the blessings of industry, art, and civilization, through his realm, proclaim the praise of James in a style far superior to studied panegyric. Invited by his fame, as the patron of every useful labour, some Germans had visited Scotland, and endeavoured to discover gold in the mines of

¹ See the letters to Christiern of Denmark, Gustaf Wase of Sweden, and the magistrates of Hamburgh, Epist. R. S. II, 36—38, and Lindsay, 238. The lands of Kingsmuir in Fife were, 2 May 1542, given to Charles Murray, for his services in purchasing large war-horses abroad for the king. Scotst. Cal.

² Lindsay, 238. He enumerates gunners, carpenters, carvers, painters, masons, smiths, harness-makers, weavers of tapestry, embroiderers, tailors, surgeons, apothecaries; "with all other kind of craftsmen that might bring his realm in policy."

Crawford muir; but with dubious success, though it be certain ¹⁵⁴¹ that this precious metal is found in the Scottish soil³.

To divert their grief for the loss of their children, and to encourage the progress of learning in their dominions, James and Mary of Guise honoured the university of Aberdeen with a solemn visit. The scholars vied in their attempts to entertain the royal guests: comedies, probably of Terence or Plautus, disputations on all branches of literature, orations in the Greek and Latin languages, sufficiently interested James and his consort to prolong their stay for fifteen days, when they left the university, after bestowing warm applause on the proficiency of the students, and the liberal attention of William Stuart the bishop to the prosperity of the institution⁴.

Sir John Campbell of Lundy again proceeded on an embassy to the Netherlands: his business being to procure a proper regulation for the fishing vessels, employed on the Scottish coasts, which had given umbrage to James in his voyage of the preceding year. Redress was accordingly promised⁵.

Cardinal Beton, accompanied by David Panter the secretary, July now proceeded on a journey through France to Rome, which he had projected a year or two before⁶. For himself he aspired to the legateship of Scotland, as Wolsey had held that of England. But there were apparently other, and more important, schemes in agitation, between the pope, the emperor, Francis, and James, against Henry, whose knowledge of them probably produced the war of the ensuing year. But while

³ Lest. 452. The gold found in the time of Charles I is known by the medals.

⁴ Ibid. 451.

⁵ ms. Harl. 4637, Vol. III, f. 18 seq.

⁶ O. Council of York to Cromwell, 5 Jan. 1539, B. VII, 245. Epist. R. S. II, 121, 122, 136: the two former references are letters of James, dated July 1541, and sent with the cardinal to the pope, and duke of Guise; the last a letter from David Panter, Paris, Jan. 1542.

1541 this important embassy itself is unknown in the careless pages of our history, it is no wonder that the motives should remain in darkness. In this much the character of Beton, now the Wolfey of Scotland in power and pride, may instruct us, that the interests of the Roman see, and the destruction of heresy, were grand objects of his mission.

Availing himself of the absence of Beton, Henry appears to have again sent Sadler into Scotland⁷. He was instructed to expose the art of the pontiff, and to warn James against any belief to be lent to the scandals propagated against Henry by the papal clergy: he was politely to desire the Scottish king not to transform himself into a brute, or a stock, as the clergy would persuade him to be. "The practises of prelates and clerks," say the instructions, "are wondrous; and their juggling so crafty, that, unless a man beware thereof, and have as many eyes as Argus, he may be lightly led by the nose, and bear the yoke, yea and yet, for blindness, not know what he doth⁸." The ambassador is therefore to desire James well to weigh and consider their practises: and, if he be inclined, Henry shall send a wise man to instruct him or meet him himself, as he was that summer to perform a progress to the north of England. Sadler is also to insinuate that the supposed intention of the pontiff is to arm the emperor, France, and Scotland, against

⁷ See his long and curious instructions, quite different from those of 1540, Cal. B. I, 52—70. The mention of Henry's intended progress to the north seems, with other circumstances, to evince the date to be 1541. The Lancaster herald had lately returned from Scotland. Lindsay, 253, specially dates, and avouches, this embassy of 1541, after which Henry, as he says, proceeded to York; but he errs in repeating the names of the ambassadors of 1535.

⁸ "The practises of prelats and clerks be wondrous, and thair juglyng so craftie, as oneles a man beware thereof, and as oculte as Argus, he maye be lyghtly ledd by the nose, and beare the yoke, yea and yett for blyndnes not to knowe what he doith." F. v. 62.

Henry;

Henry; and with no great art, or historical knowledge, the ¹⁵⁴¹ example of James I is to be repeated to the Scottish monarch, as if his ancestor had voluntarily and freely assisted the fifth Henry in his French war, and upon his death attended his body to London as that of a dear ally.

James appears to have lent a deaf ear to the homilies of Henry; but overcome by persistence, to have given a dubious promise that, if his affairs and opportunity permitted, he would meet the English king on his progress in the north of his dominions.

Henry accordingly proceeded to York, where he remained at least six days. But James declining the conference, his uncle returned to London with sentiments of deep indignation⁹. The anger was unjust, for if the English king were so desirous to meet James, why not evince at once his spirit and conciliatory views, by visiting the court of Scotland, after so many recent similar examples of confidence among the greatest monarchs?

Yet nearly a year was to elapse, before open hostilities were to be displayed. James sent an ambassador to Henry to excuse, in the most conciliating manner, his failure in the expected interview¹. But the assumption of the title of king of Ireland by Henry, who had formerly been contented to imitate the modesty of his predecessors, in admitting only the style of lords of that illustrious island, where the English possessions were indeed minute, was to occasion fresh jealousy between the monarchs². Not only were many of the Irish chiefs

⁹ Herbert, 533.

¹ Henry's manifesto, in Hall's chronicle, f. v. 247.

² Herbert, 539. Lessl. 453. In the beginning of this year, O Neil, the ally of James, paid his submission to Henry at Greenwich, and was created earl of Tyrone. Hall, sub anno. In Feb. 1542 James granted a safe conduct to the papal envoy, sent to O Neil and the lords of Ireland. MS. Reg. 18 B. VI.

1542 ancient allies, or dependants, of Scotland; but some Scottish clans had actually settled in Ireland, and were understood to be among the immediate subjects of James. Yet the failure of the expedition of Edward Bruce, and the want of a strong fleet, prevented the Scottish kings from asserting their claims to that island; and though the catholic chieftains warmly desired the protection of James, he, with some impatience, was constrained to concede the high title of king of Ireland to the ambition of Henry.

Notwithstanding the continued artifices of the clergy, to instigate James to a war against his heretical uncle, commissioners appointed on both sides met on the borders, and issued the accustomed mandates for the preservation of peace³.

4 July Beton had now probably returned from his embassy, and it's apparent object had been in some measure defeated by a rupture between the emperor and the French king; which diverting the arms of both rendered an alliance against Henry impossible. Francis had already invaded the dominions of his adversary, in five different places; but far from pursuing his former policy he declined any connection with Henry, and sent Morvilliers as ambassador to Scotland, with a supply of arms and ammunition to James, who was to be another victim of French policy⁴. It is probable that Beton's zeal had flattered Francis with the wild idea that England, being disaffected, was ready to receive James as her sovereign. The wishes of a partizan, and still more those of a bigot, will often impose on himself, and misrepresent even the most manifest dispositions of a whole nation: and it is probable that Francis, trusting to Beton's complete information on the subject, in some shape authorized by repeated insurrections in the

³ Henry's manifesto.

⁴ Less. 456. Herbert, 543, 547.

north of England, should have been thus induced to leave ¹⁵⁴² James to conduct the war against that kingdom alone; a conduct which seems otherwise incompatible with the known generosity of the French monarch.

It had long been the decided wish of the Scottish clergy to impell their king to a war against England, in order to prevent him from embracing the measures of his uncle in opposition to the Roman see. But the haughty and despotic spirit of Henry seems to have also conspired to the destruction of James. Lord Herbert, the able and accurate historian of his reign, affirms that a rupture with Scotland had been resolved upon; and Paget was sent to Paris, in consequence, to sound the disposition of Francis towards a continuance of the alliance with England; whom he found averse from the proposal⁵. Henry was highly enraged at the failure of the interview, which he particularly hoped, and desired, in the absence of Beton; and, finding conciliatory measures vain, determined to overawe James to his purpose by the force of arms. Yet even of Henry's resentment the Scottish clergy were the sole authors; and they cannot be acquitted of causing the destruction of an amiable monarch.

The first act of hostility seems obscure: but if the Scottish borderers made an incursion, such events were provided for by the alliance between the two kingdoms, and were redressable by commissioners⁶. The Scottish ambassador remained at the English

Aug.

⁵ Herbert, 541.

⁶ Henry, in his manifesto, asserts that the Scots on the 4th July suddenly entered England, to commit ravages. Yet James, in a letter to Lermont his ambassador, (ms. Epist. reg. Sc. 20 Aug. regni 29,) asserts that the English made two incursions before the Scots retaliated. The council of Scotland, in a letter of the same date to Lermont, say that the English had ravaged Paton, Aymouth, and other towns in the Merse; while, on their side, James Doig, who led the

1542 English court: yet after many small incursions on both sides,
 { fir Robert Bowes, instigated by the odious Angus and fir George Douglas, who attended him in the expedition against their country, entered Scotland at the head of three thousand cavalry, proposing to ravage the frontiers, and destroy Jedburgh now
 24 Aug. emergent from its ruins. But they were met at Haddenrig by Huntley and Home, and completely defeated: Bowes, Richard his brother, fir William Mowbray, and others, to the amount of six hundred, being taken prisoners⁷; and Henry was to complain in his manifesto that they were not admitted to ransom. Angus was also taken, but escaped the due punishment of his manifold treasons, by using his dagger against the captor. James was however so much pleased with this omen of success, that he gave the lands of Hirsell to fir Andrew Ker of Little Dean, for bringing the first intelligence⁸.

Exasperated by this disgrace to his arms, Henry ordered an army of twenty thousand men to assemble at York, under the command of Norfolk lieutenant of the northern counties. But James, who appears not to have been prepared for the war, into which his evil counsellors, and Henry's impetuosity, had
 Sept. hurried him, sent embassadors to York⁹; and Norfolk agreed to

futeband, or infantry, that burned Carham and Cornwell, was cashiered. Huntley the lieutenant proceeded to the frontiers that day, the 20th Aug. but an offer is made to withdraw the garrisons, if Henry will do the same.

Lesley, 455, says the English took 28 Scottish vessels. But the incident is questionable, for both the kings, and all the original papers, are silent. Yet this event may have happened after Henry's manifesto appeared. See Holinshed, Hist. Scot. who confirms Lesley's account, and his book was printed in 1577, a year before Lesley's.

⁷ Lesley, *ib.* Lindsay, 264. Remission to the Douglasses, Nov. 1544, Epist. R. S. II, 321, 323.

⁸ Hume's House of Douglas, II, 109.

⁹ C. James to Henry, 10 Sept. Epist. R. S. ms. in bibl. Reg. Mus. Brit. 18 B. VI.

James

to treat. James hinted a consent to the desired conference; but ¹⁵⁴² the place being still a subject of hesitation, and the instructions of the embassadors so inadequate as to afford cause of suspicion that delay alone was intended, the negotiation was abandoned'. Henry ordered his army to march; and at the same time issued a manifesto² reviving the antiquated claim of homage from Scotland to England, supported by many fabulous examples from partial records, and monastic legends; but at the same time disclaiming any intention to enforce it, and imputing the war to the interruption of the conference in the preceding year by James, after he had given his promise; to the support afforded to the rebels in the north; to the denial of some small debateable territory; and to inroads committed by the Scots, even during the negotiation. No manifesto of James has reached us; and that of Henry has in itself little weight.

Yet the intermediate treaty had been so long protracted, that ^{12 Oct.} the usual season for a campaign had elapsed before Norfolk entered Scotland, at the head of a gallant, though not numerous army, hardly exceeding thirty thousand men. He gave to the flames about twenty villages, and the towns of Roxburgh and Kelso: but the progress, though destructive, was not deep; a Scottish army of ten thousand, under Huntley, Home, Seton, and Erskine, watching every advantage to annoy the English, and preventing the extension of the ruin by detachments. At Farneton the bishop of Orkney, and sir

James had written to Henry, on the 25th August, that the English and the Douglasses, with 10,000 men and five banners, had invaded Scotland; but his lieutenant (Huntley) had met them, and the event there was no necessity to relate. *ms. Reg. 18 B. VI.* This epistle would little contribute to appease Henry.

¹ Henry's manifesto.

² See it apart in the British Museum, London 1542, 4to; or inserted in the chronicles of Hall and Holinshed.

1542 James Lermont, came to Norfolk's camp, as embassadors for peace; but without effect: yet, after an incursion of eight days, the English general was constrained by the want of provisions, and the advanced season of the year, to lead his army back to Berwick, and dismiss the soldiers to their respective abodes³.

James finding a determined and ruinous war to have commenced, perceived too late that his conduct to the nobles had been the reverse of that of his father, and that their unanimous concurrence, experienced by James IV, was not to be expected by a prince, who had, on repeated occasions, sacrificed their interests to those of the clergy. Many of the Scottish chiefs had also embraced the reformed doctrines; and the present being not unjustly regarded as a war incited by the papal clergy against the chief supporter of the new faith, it became an object of pious zeal to counteract its progress. In vain did James endeavour to recover the affections of the aristocracy; for he now countenanced the priests, who gave in a new roll of proscription, and confiscation, against the numerous powerful and wealthy heretics⁴. His conduct was only supposed to be covered with a mask, soon to be removed, and to disclose the most petrifying features. The discontent of the peers ripened into murmurs, or was yet more dreadful from the deep silence which precedes a tempest. Their power had been irritated, not crushed, as that of the English lords by Henry VII. Their numerous followers considered themselves as only bound to the obedience of their chieftains; the regal name had no

³ Less. 457. Hall, f. 253, 254. Farneton I cannot find: Redpath is carelessly silent, Border Hist. 540. For this invasion of October see also the remission to the Douglasses, Nov. 1544. Epist. R. S. II, 321, 323.

⁴ Keith, 12, from Knox, p. 31.

superlative found: and the Scottish army may be said to have ¹⁵⁴² as yet consisted of twenty or thirty separate hosts of rude militia, who, connected by the firmest ties of tenure, obedience, and protection, to their distinct leaders, only respected the monarch as the nominal commander in chief. On the contrary, the English battalions were not uninitiated by foreign wars in military tactics, and discipline; and any local attachments had been so broken by the fall of ancient families, and by the progress of civilization, that they moved as one mass at the voice of their general; and knew no fear, save that of dishonour, and the frown of their monarch.

Though aware of these disadvantages, James had, on the rupture of the negotiation, ordered an army of thirty thousand to assemble at the Burrowmuir near Edinburgh; and had marched to Fala, near the western extremity of the noted chain called Lammermuir hills, being twenty miles on the route towards Kelso, when the tidings arrived that Norfolk had withdrawn his forces⁵. The Scottish peers ungenerously seized the opportunity; and partly from disaffection, partly perhaps from the not forgotten terrors of Flodden, declared that they would only act on the defensive, and, as the enemy had retired, would not retaliate the invasion. James, suspecting a repetition of the scenes exhibited at Lauder bridge, under his grandfather, was forced to dismiss the array, and ^{1 Nov.} return with inconceivable chagrin⁶.

⁵ Less. 457. Lindsay, 269.

⁶ Ibid. Nisbet in his Heraldry, Vol. I, p. 98, produces a charter to John Scot of Thirlstane, granting an addition to his arms, and the motto *ready ay ready*, to reward the support of the king at Soutra, when all the other chiefs desired to retreat. It is dated at Fala moor, 27 July 1542; an error in the date, or a forged charter, as not only history, but the original papers of August concur to evince.

1542

To allay the anguish of his mind, the council, consisting chiefly of clergy, proposed to levy a small army of about ten thousand, to retaliate, by an invasion on the western marches, the injuries and disgrace inflicted by the arms of Norfolk⁷. Maxwell was appointed to the command, a leader indeed firmly attached to the king; but, with their usual infatuation, the ministers of James joined with him Cassils, Glencairn, and other chiefs of the south and west, who favoured the English interest and the reformation, whereas those of the opposite party, however distant, ought to have been selected. The army advanced towards Solway firth, passed into English ground, and approached the river Esk, when Oliver Sinclair, the king's favourite, was elevated on shields, to read the royal commission, appointing the general and directing his procedure. A murmur arose among the disaffected that this minion was nominated commander in chief: and the array, like a troubled sea, was instantly agitated by uproar, tumult, and disorder. Thomas Dacre and John Musgrave, two English leaders, had advanced at the head of three or four hundred men to observe the motions of the enemy; and perceiving their dissentient fluctuation, and an incapability of defence arising even to panic, immediately charged their scattered battalions. A speedy flight completed the inglorious disaster. Among a thousand prisoners, taken by the English, were Glencairn, Cassils, Maxwell, Somerville, Gray, Oliphant, Fleming, with other chieftains of inferior note, who preferred a captivity in England to the chance of their sovereign's indignation⁸.

James,

⁷ Norfolk wrote to James on the 10th Nov. concerning an exchange of prisoners. Haynes's Papers, p. 3.

⁸ Less. 459. Buch. XIV, 60. Lindsay, 272—274. Hall, 254. Drummond, 226. See the names of the prisoners, and their sureties, in Lodge's Illustrations,

James, in his impatience, had advanced to the castle of ¹⁵⁴² Carlaveroc, to learn with more speed the success of his arms. The repeated and cruel reverses of fortune at Fala, and at Solway, overcame a mind strong, but uncultivated by philosophy or experience, and yet untaught to cure the stings of disappointment with the balm of hope. The clouds of dishonour darkened around his magnanimous soul, hitherto long brightened with success and glory; and no ray pierced the horrid gloom of despair. In his eyes his reputation was irretrievably lost: and that loss a generous spirit cannot, would not, survive. He abhorred the upbraiding eyes of mankind; and sought refuge in the retirement of Falkland, where a

Illustrations, I, 37: Glencairn and Fleming were ransomed when that paper was written; the other chiefs amounted to about sixty. Oliver Sinclair was styled of *Pitcairns*. Douglas Peerage, p. 63.

On the 9th Nov. 1542 James wrote to the pope, mentioning the invasions of Bowes and Norfolk, the first at the head of 10,000; the latter of 40,000. He asserts that the war is waged because he will not abandon the pontiff; and he desires aid as the flame may spread to other kingdoms. ms. Reg. 18 B. VI.

In the same curious ms. there occurs a letter from James to Henry, 30 Nov. in the thirtieth year of his reign 1542, on occasion of the murder of Somerset herald, in Scotland, by William Leth and John Preistman English fugitives, and who were immediately imprisoned by the command of James. He shews every sense of the enormity of the action, terms it "an unhappy and cruel enterprize," and an "odious crime;" is earnest that it shall be punished; and desires a safe conduct to Lermont and Sir John Campbell, envoys to be sent to receive Henry's instructions on the business. Herbert, p. 548, glances at this transaction, known to Hall and Stow; but I cannot find it in Lesley, whom he quotes; nor in Drummond, who is cited by Dr. Granger the continuator of Maitland, Vol. II, p. 834.

The next letter in the ms. is from the council of Scotland, 21 Dec. 1542, acknowledging the receipt of Henry's letter of the 10th directed to James, who was dead before it arrived: and surrendering the murderers to the just vengeance of the English king. They pathetically urge the tender age of their new sovereign, "a babe incapable of good or harm," as an argument for peace.

burning

1542 burning fever preyed upon his frame. The birth of a daughter,
 7 Dec. the unfortunate Mary, afforded no solace; his anguish only
 answering the messenger, "It came with a girl, and it will
 go with a girl." Seven days after, the agonies of death seized
 the vigorous youth of the monarch. The cardinal, Argyle,
 Rothes, Erskine, Durie the physician, Sir David Lindsay, and
 a few others were in the chamber. He looked placidly on
 them from his bed; kissed his hand, and reached it to their
 salutations and tears; then, with a gracious smile of forgive-
 14 Dec. nefs to all, he expired⁹.

James V had lived only thirty years and eight months; his
 nominal reign was of twenty-nine years, his real authority of
 fourteen. Besides Mary, the legitimate heiress of the misfor-
 tunes of her ancestors, he left six natural children. Elizabeth
 Shaw, of the family of Sauchie, bore to him one son James
 abbot of Kelso and Melrose, who was educated by Buchanan,
 but died in 1558. Another James¹, afterwards the noted
 regent Murray, was the issue of Margaret Erskine, daughter
 of John lord Erskine, a lady who passed from the royal con-
 cubinage to a marriage with Robert Douglas of Lochleven.
 By Euphemia daughter of lord Elphinston, James had Robert
 prior of Holyroodhouse, afterwards earl of Orkney. Eliza-
 beth, daughter of Sir John Carmichael, was the mother of

⁹ Lindsay, 275, 276. Less. 459. Buch. XIV, 61. The date of his death
 is confirmed by the Harleian ms. 2363, written by a contemporary; and by
 Cal. B. V, 192; and B. VIII, 296, where it is observed that Mary was born
 on the 7th Dec. *eight days* (or a week) before her father's decease.

¹ A charter of 31 Aug. 1536 specially distinguishes these two sons, mention-
 ing the elder as begotten on the late Elizabeth Shaw; the younger as the issue
 of Margaret Erskine: as the former had many benefices, Tantallon is thereby
 taken from him, and assigned to the latter. Scott. Cal.

two children, John prior of Coldingham, afterwards, by marrying the heiress, earl of Bothwell; and Janet, wedded to the earl of Argyle. Adam prior of the Chartreux at Perth, was the son of Elizabeth Stuart, daughter of John earl of Lennox².

² Crawf. hist. Stuarts, 49-51, edit. 1782.

BOOK XVI.

A RETROSPECT OF THE STATE OF SCOTLAND,
DURING THE REIGNS OF JAMES IV, AND V.

Sect. 1. State of the people, and of civilization—2. Government, laws, tactics—3. Agriculture, useful arts—4. Commerce, money, navigation—5. Ecclesiastic history, literature, language—6. Ornamental arts, manners, dress.

SECTION I.

State of the people, and of civilization.

1488—**T**HAT paradoxical philosophy which supposes man more
1542 happy in a savage, than in a civilized condition, will
never find converts among the sons of science. To solid information, to enlarged views, to candid discussion, to genuine ratiocination, the idea will ever appear a dream of ignorant genius, a vision of the golden age of the ancient poets:

Di latte

Se'n corse il fiume, et stillò mele il bosco.

Whether we peruse the imperfect records of barbaric ages, or the page of the modern traveller, which delineates nations yet
in

in infancy, and represents antiquities coeval with ourselves, 1488—
 the comparative misery of the savage will ever appear predo- 1542
 minant. Few and insipid are his enjoyments, the animal
 pleasures merely animal, unheightened by anticipation, by
 memory, by imagination, by the thousand nameless elegancies
 of civic life. To seize his prey in the romantic forest, or
 pastoral stream, is not his amusement, but his occupation,
 filled with cares lest his want of success should leave himself
 and his family to famine. From the delays, suspense, and
 anxieties, of judicature he is free, but he is exposed to lawless
 violence; he defrays no taxes, but he enjoys no security of
 person nor property; his merit is not suppressed by the malice
 of party, the insolence of office, nor the frigid frown of drop-
 fical wealth, but it expires unseen and uncelebrated, like the
 flowers of his forests. A stranger if not to the miseries, yet
 to the unfeeling ridicule, which in mercantile states attends
 penury, he is equally a stranger to that ease which opens and
 enlarges the mind to pleasures before unknown, and is itself
 one constant enjoyment. Free from some of the cares of ci-
 vilized life, his uncultivated mind is exposed to all the fury of
 the passions. The day of puny conflict, the tortures of the
 captives, are feasts to his sanguinary disposition; and if he die
 bravely, it is because he feels that his existence is miserable.
 In his eyes there is no providence, life and nature are a form-
 less mass without intelligence or plan; and he dies a stranger
 to all the enlightened virtues, utilities, and decorations of life.
 If he expose his children to the wild beasts, or sell them as
 slaves; if he bury his father alive, when too aged to procure
 his own subsistence; if he offer human victims to grim idols,
 stigmatize his forehead with their blood, perhaps devour their
 flesh, can we praise his mercy? If he take every opportunity
 to rob the stranger, can we praise his honesty? If he be fallacious

1488—cious as uneducated infancy, can we applaud his truth? If his
 1542 festival be riot, his love brutal lust, where is his temperance?

If he prefer assassination to open combat, where is the generous courage of a man? If his strength oppress the weak, if his sly cunning circumvent the unwary, where is his justice? Where are his virtues, except in the want of opportunities of vice? Where in short are all the vaunted morals and enjoyments of the savage, except in the theoretic page of fanciful philosophy?

But whether the sum of the contentment of the poor, for happiness is too bold a word for human existence, be greater in barbaric or in civilized ages is a different question. Among our German ancestors, when the whole produce of agriculture was equally divided among the tribe¹, there could be no positive poverty, except it deservedly fell on the gambler, who would pledge his property, and sometimes even his person, as a stake². The chiefs, originally chosen for their courage, wisdom, and superior personal appearance and strength, having a larger share in any warlike prey, became opulent in horses, herds, and flocks, the sole wealth of the country, and epoch. Inheritance may be termed an innate idea among all nations; the sons of the chiefs became rich in the fortune of their fathers; and distinguished by their opulence, and in time by the deeds of many ancestors, they became kings, or nobles, of the small community. A further progress erected one king over a wide territory; and the former petty princes sometimes were eradicated, sometimes became only the barons of a more powerful state. But the barbarians, nations of soldiers, either acquired their subsistence by prey, or by lasting conquests, or by sharing the bounty of their chiefs; and the slaves alone could be termed poor.

¹ Tacit. Germ.

² Ibid.

The usage of slavery among ancient nations prevented any occasion of beggary. In distress to become slaves, was the last refuge of the miserable; and their master provided objects for their industry, and subsistence for their lives. The christian system did not oppose this practise: the early christians had their slaves³; and though the popes, in the ninth century, prohibited the Venetians to sell believers as slaves to the Mahometans⁴, yet the poor people of England continued even to the twelfth century to sell their children as slaves to the Irish⁵. But modern charity would shrink from the advice of a great political writer⁶, to restore the custom of slavery as the only mean of deliverance from the recent evils of beggary and poors'-rates: an opulent manufacturer never supporting the sick, aged, or helpless; while a rich Roman would not only employ five thousand slaves, but furnish an asylum for all in every stage of existence.

In a more immediate view of the present topic, it appears that the condition of the poor, as well as of the rich, is greatly ameliorated by civilization. New disadvantages, it must be confessed, arise; the population becomes so numerous that the subsistence is of course more difficult: and hardly, except in civilized society, can the poor man shun marriage, or execrate the increase of his family. But this defect may often arise from the fault of the governors, occupied in futile wars, factious plans, and the miserable chicane of office, instead of attending

³ Among other authorities see an inscription in the *Recherches sur les Antiquités de Vienne* of Nicolas Chorier, Lyon, 1658, 12mo, p. 221.

⁴ Anastasius vita Zachariæ Papæ, an. 747; Danduli Chron. Venet. an. 878.

⁵ Wil. Malmsh. Vita Wulfstani, Anglia Sacra II, 258. Chronicon Hib. Domit. A. XVIII, an. 1172. Thorkelin's learned tract on the slave-trade in Europe, London, 1788, 8vo.

⁶ Fletcher of Salton, Disc. 2, on Scottish affairs, p. 87, edit. 1749.

to which

1488—to their sole duty, the general welfare of the community. The
 1542 poor however, instead of being the slaves of their landlords,
 are free to carry their industry and skill to the best market, and
 share in the social opulence: the uncertain life of a soldier is
 exchanged for security, and comparative ease: their little pro-
 perty is sacred from violence: and they exult when they see
 the evening smoke ascend from their cottages, and welcome
 their return from labour to a peaceful meal, and chearful fa-
 mily; nor can the rich forbear to envy their night's repose.

Man wants but little, nor that little long.

As the wants and wishes of the poor are but few and moderate,
 they have far more numerous opportunities of gratifying them in
 civilized, than in barbaric, society: opulence opens the hand of
 charity, and the stores of foreign commerce contribute to the
 wealth or comfort of the peasant; while the very scenes rising
 around him, the attic mansion, the improved town, the na-
 vigable canal, not only encourage his industry, but increase his
 enjoyments; as it has been observed that a Neapolitan *lazarone*
 would not exchange conditions with a Russian noble; so much
 of the pleasure of existence is derived from surrounding objects.
 And such is the influence of industry in advanced society, that
 the poor enjoy conveniencies which, in a barbaric state, the
 great would account luxuries. Granting all human conditions
 comparative, we may estimate the advantages of civilization by
 the voice of the savage, and of the barbarian: what English
 sailor, though exposed to the rage of enemies, and fury of the
 ocean, ever envied the American savage? what English men-
 dicant, the rude Siberian? But the savage chief will be proud
 to share the habiliments, or little luxuries, of the mariner;
 the Siberian would envy the dainty provisions, and luxurious
 ease, of the mendicant. By the same plan of providence, in
 which man arises from infancy to youth and maturity, from
 which

which he is soon to decline, human society has its progressive stages of amelioration, till it attain the highest state, after which it tends to declension. 1488—1542

The progress of Scotland towards civilization, during the reigns of James IV and V, appears to have been somewhat more rapid than at any preceding period, though the minority of the latter prince formed a considerable interruption. The statute alone, of the former monarch, concerning education is worthy of an ancient legislator. But it concerns the rich only; and this section is devoted to the state of the middle ranks, and of the poor. Among the ordinances chiefly intended for their advantage, may be enumerated those for the preservation of the public peace against the inroads of the great; those prohibiting the levying of *caupers*, or pretended benevolences of horses, cattle, or the like, accustomed to be wrested from the poor by the landlords in Galloway and Carric⁷. The statute of James I, concerning mendicants, was ratified both by James IV and V⁸. It was ordained that no officer should distrain instruments of agriculture in the season of tillage; and that forestallers of grain, flesh, fish, or other articles, should forfeit the whole. Lands falling in ward are not to be injured; and the tenants, labourers, and other inhabitants, are not liable to be removed till the expiration of their yearly lease, at the ensuing whitsunday: and all are permitted to sell grain all the days of the week, as well as on the market day. The tenants of the royal domains are especially exempted from any services to the adjacent landholders⁹.

But from other authorities it appears that great oppression of the farmers, and cottagers, still prevailed; and the landlords

⁷ Acts, 1490, c. 8, 18, 19. ⁸ 1504, c. 70. 1535, c. 22.

⁹ 1504, c. 98. 1535, c. 21. 1491, c. 26. 1493, c. 44. 1490, c. 21.

1488—continued to prefer their pride to their interest. “The lords, 1542 says queen Margaret in a letter of Sept. 1523, regard not the disasters of the poor, but laugh at them.” Though the leases were generally annual, we find excessive *grassums*, or fines for renewal, arranged among the grievances of the time¹. The sufferings of the poor peasants, by the extortions of the clergy in particular, form a considerable part of Lindsay’s satirical play, first acted in 1540². At a far later period the author of an interesting memoir concerning the state of Scotland, about 1590, observes that the husbandmen were a kind of slaves, only holding their lands from year to year; that the nobility being too numerous for the extent of the country, there arose too great an inequality of rank and revenue; and there was no middle station between a proud landholder, and those who, having no property to lose, were ready for any tumult³. A rich yeomanry, numerous merchants and tradesmen of property, and all the denominations of the middle class, so important in a flourishing society, were long to be confined to England.

John Mair in his description of Scotland, 1521, presents some particulars worthy of commemoration. He mentions Leith as the chief port, and observes that, between it and Edinburgh, there was a small but rich village, famous for the woolen manufacture, and from which the best cloths in Scotland derived their name. Perth was the only fortified town, the Scots being little versed either in fortification, or siege; but

¹ Ancient Scottish Poems, Edin. 1770, p. 51, 261. An act 1522, c. 4, ordains that the heirs of such tenants as fall in battle shall enter free from *grassum*, only paying the rent, and performing the usual *duties* and *services*, which long continued to reduce the farmers almost to a state of villenage.

² Scottish Poems, London, 1792, Vol. II.

³ ms. Sloane 3199, art. 94, extracted from ms. Ashmole 781, p. 11.

displaying

displaying great promptitude in repelling an enemy. The 1488—
ecclesiastic polity was far inferior to that of England, there 1542
being often thirty hamlets attached to one parish church, }
distant from some of them four, five, or even ten miles: but
every laird had his chapel and chaplain, and some more. The
cures were few, but rich; and generally administered by depu-
ties. The houses of the farmers were small, because they only
rented by the year, at the most for four or five; so that, though
stone were common, there was no desire to erect good houses,
to plant trees or hedges, or to enrich the ground; and Mair
justly expresses his regret for the consequent loss, and disgrace,
to the kingdom at large. He adds that if perpetual leases
were granted, the rent might be tripled, and yet the tenants
become rich; and the homicides which followed their removal
be avoided, for a tenant of spirit would kill his successor to
despite the lord. Nor would the lords have cause to alledge
that, in case of long leases, the tenants being independent would
not arise with them in arms, for a law might pass ordaining in
such defaults the loss of the lease: and better it were that the
superiors could not so speedily recur to force. Mair repeats
an advice of Robert the great on his death-bed, that the Scottish
kings should attempt to retain all the isles in their own hands,
as abounding with cattle and warriors; and the detached go-
vernment being most pernicious to the interests of the mo-
narchy: the possessors to be recompensed by other lands. He
blames the farmers for their contempt of manufactures, and
of citizens, whom they regarded as effeminate: while they,
leaving the agricultural operations to servants, affected to ride
constantly with their lords, perhaps a respect necessary to se-
cure their brief leases. The nobles he equally censures for
perpetual feuds with their neighbours; and a complete neglect
of the education of their sons. Mair closes his interesting

1488—remarks by describing the highlanders as partly possessed of
 1542 cattle and horses, of which last two or three hundred, wild
 and unbroken, would be brought by one highlander to Perth
 or Dundee, and sold for two francs each: but the others more
 savage only hunted, or followed their chiefs, in their constant
 expeditions and conflicts. They wore *caligæ*, or trouse, reach-
 ing only to the middle of the leg, a mantle, and a shirt stained
 with saffron, their weapons a bow and arrows, a broad sword,
 small halbert, large dagger of one edge; armour, mail of iron
 rings: but the common people wore in battle jackets of quilted
 linnen, waxed or pitched, and covered with deer's skin; while
 the lowlanders like the English fought in short clokes⁴.

There being no manufactures, the poor were chiefly occu-
 pied in the numerous menial trains of the great; or in the
 more useful employments of agriculture, and pasturage. The
 cottagers and servants of farmers, were almost as rich as
 their masters; and far less harrassed with care. But barren
 are the materials to form an estimation of the state of a million
 of poor, while a few thousands of more fortunate families
 attract alike the notice of the heralds, and the old annalists.

In the burghs, the chosen seats of freedom, the advance-
 ment, as may be expected, was greater. The regulations
 concerning them are numerous. In 1490 it was ordered that
 the usages of Edinburgh, in raising the rents due to superiors,
 should be extended to Perth, and other burghs⁵. An act of

⁴ Hist. lib. I, c. 6, 7, 8. Boyce's idle elocution in his description of Scot-
 land, and account of manners, presents not one particle of solid information.

It is to be regretted that Bowar, 1444, has given but few hints on the state
 of the country. His predecessor Fordun, lib. II, c. 9, edit. Hearne, is con-
 tent to observe that the highlanders spoke Irish, the lowlanders Teutonic; and
 that the latter were decently clothed and civilized, while the former were mere
 savages.

⁵ Cap. 20.

1491 prohibits any numerous meetings, except commanded 1488—
by the magistrates⁶: the revenue of each burgh is ordered to ¹⁵⁴²
be expended for its advantage, by the town-council and deacons
of crafts, who are to be responsible yearly in the circuit-court
of the chamberlain; and no description of their property is
permitted to be let for a term exceeding three years: no cor-
diner, nor other craftsman, is to exact a duty from one of the
same trade coming to the market to sell: deacons of craft are
not allowed, as the practice tended to commotions and oppres-
sion; and masons and carpenters are not to charge for holidays⁷.
In 1504 it is ordained that the provosts, and other magistrates,
be changed annually, and that none except resident merchants
be appointed: the ancient privileges are confirmed, and none
except freemen of burghs are permitted to trade, sell wine,
wax, silk, spices, stuffs, or staple goods⁸. The important
statute of 1535, concerning the magistracy, is already stated
in the historical narrative.

More minute statutes occur concerning the prices demanded
by artisans, which are ordered to be regulated by the magis-
trates; who are also empowered to affix those of wine, salt,
and timber, imported. But the cordiners, smiths, bakers,
brewers, and other craftsmen, continuing their extortions, their
prices are referred to a committee of the lords; and malt-
makers are only to charge two shillings advance on each boll
of barley⁹. To prevent forestalling it was decreed, in 1541,

⁶ Cap. 34. ⁷ Ib. c. 36, 42, 43. ⁸ Cap. 80, 84.

⁹ 1494, c. 56. 1541, c. 100. 1535, c. 30, 29. From c. 111, parl. 1541,
it appears that the craftsmen pretended to make "private acts and constitutions"
among themselves; their gross injustice perhaps induced our kings to establish
the oligarchic form of municipality. Lindsay in his Play, p. 191 seq. censures
the arts and extortions of weavers, clothiers, millers, butchers, taylors, brewers,
bakers, carpenters, masons, blacksmiths, goldsmiths.

1488—that no fish should be sold in the markets to retailers, except
 1542 between the hours of eleven and two, and the price is submitted to the magistrates. A statute of the same parliament permits all the subjects to sell bread and flesh, on three market-days in the week, at Edinburgh the capital, on account of the great resort of natives and strangers¹.

Even about 1590 the author of the memorial above mentioned observes that the burghs were chiefly influenced by the neighbouring peers; Coupar by Rothes, Perth by Montrose, and other instances. The merchants were few and poor; and one hundred pounds sterling was esteemed wealth. The tradesmen were lost in the popular penury; and only three trades flourished, coarse cloth, armour, and linnen. There were also few lawyers except at Edinburgh².

When such was the state of the lowlands, that of the highlands was far more barbarous. On the death of James V one John Eldar, a clergyman who, as he informs us himself, was a native of Caithness, and had studied for twelve years in the three *southern* universities, retired to England, and presented to Henry VIII a Project of a Union between the two kingdoms. It is an ignorant and traitorous exhortation to the English king to subdue Scotland, and expell cardinal Beton, and the bishops; but it presents some curious articles concerning the manners of the highlanders. In explaining the reason of the appellation *Redshanks*, given to the highlanders, he thus proceeds. “Moreover wherefore they call us in Scotland Redshanks, and in your grace’s dominion of England *Rough-footed Scots*, please it your majesty to understand, that we of all people can tolerate, suffer, and away best with cold: for both summer and winter, (except when the frost is most ve-

¹ Cap. 98, 121, 122.

² Ut supra.

hement,)

hement,) going always bare-legged and bare-footed, our delight and pleasure is not only in hunting of red-deer, wolves, foxes, and *graies*, whereof we abound and have great plenty; but also in running, leaping, swimming, shooting, and throwing of darts. Therefore in so much as we use, and delight, so to go always, the tender delicate gentlemen of Scotland call us *Redshanks*.”

“ And again in winter, when the frost is most vehement, (as I have said,) which we cannot suffer bare-footed, so well as snow which can never hurt us, when it comes to our girdles, we go a hunting; and after that we have slain red-deer, we flay off the skin by and by, and setting of our bare foot on the inside thereof, for want of cunning shoemakers, by your grace’s pardon, we play the cobblers, compassing and measuring so much thereof, as shall reach up to our ancles: pricking the upper part thereof with holes, that the water may repass where it enters; and stretching it up with a strong thong of the same above our said ancles. So, and please your noble grace, we make our shoes. Therefore we using such manner of shoes, the rough hairy side outward, in your grace’s dominion of England we be called *Rough-footed Scots*.”

The

³ Holograph ms. signed by the author, Bibl. Reg. 18 A. XXXVIII. He says, p. 4, that the Irish lords of Scotland, otherwise called Redshanks, were all attached to England, except Argyle: in p. 7 he promises a description of Scotland, and a map: p. 10, &c. he ridiculously confounds the Irish, or highlanders, called Redshanks, with the ancient Picts. He afterwards makes remarks on highland names; such as that Macleod ne Hair implies *filius Ludovici de Hirtha insula*: Makenny *filius Kennoci*, &c. and he adds that in Ireland the name passes from grandfather to grandson, as O’Brien, *nepos Bernardi*. In the reign of James V he says the attendants of the highland lords were dressed like the lowlanders, who term the former wild, rude, and barbarous: and he flatters Henry VIII with the possession of many “good hearts” among the Irish lords of Scotland, as he always terms them: his goodness being thus synonymous with treason.

1488— The manners and dress of the common people of Scotland, during this period, may best be discerned from the contemporary statutes, poems, and other writings. In 1504 it is ordered that no markets nor fairs be held on holidays, nor at any time in churches or church-yards⁴: a regulation which now appears singular, because the ecclesiastic origin of fairs, *feriæ*, and markets is forgotten. The market for grain and meal being in the high street of Edinburgh, James V ordered it to be moved to a more convenient place. (In 1535 the act of James I concerning inns was reinforced; and the barons, and magistrates of burghs, were ordered to see that the innkeepers sold flesh, fish, bread, and ale, at the rates usual in such houses; and had proper stabling, racks, mangers, corn, hay, and straw: the penalty, indictment at the justiciary court⁵.

Among the games and pastimes, Lindsay the historian mentions shooting with the bow at pricks, rovers, or butts; leaping, running, wrestling, and casting of the penny-stone or quoit⁶. Even the women are branded by Dunbar, and other poets, for drinking ale, or malmsey if they could procure it, to excess⁷. The *plays*, or annual festivals mentioned in a former retrospect, seem to have been retained till the reformation, about which period a poet mentions that at Bowden⁸.

The tale of the Friars of Berwick, perhaps written by Dunbar, presents a curious picture of the domestic life of a farmer. His house has a *but* and a *ben*, or two apartments, and several other conveniences. Two friars arriving are treated with bread and

treason. Botero in his *Relationi Universali*, or description of the world, Ferrara, 1592, 8vo, says of the highlanders, p. 491, "Parlano la lingua d'Hibernia, onde tirano origine, e si chiamano salvatiche."

⁴ Cap. 83.

⁵ 1541, c. 103; 1535, c. 18.

⁶ P. 229.

⁷ Maitland Poems, Vol. I, p. 113, &c.

⁸ Ibid. 135.

cheese

cheese and ale, being favourites with the women, to whom 1488—
 they repeated tales, and miracles of saints: but for a treat to 1542
 her lover, another of the same holy class, the wife has pro-
 vided capons and rabbits; while a boiled sheep's-head and feet
 are produced for the husband on his unexpected return⁹.

With regard to the dress of the common people, it continued much the same till the seventeenth century; and the fashions of the superior classes had no influence upon their humble garments. A statute informs us that shoes were commonly sold for twelve pence the pair in 1493, or about three pence sterling¹. Lindsay describes a groom's dress in 1528 as consisting of a coat and hose, a cloke, and bonnet². To the regulations of female dress, ordered by James II, and formerly recited, may be added that a farmer's wife, to receive her lover, attires herself in a kirtle or close gown of fine red cloth, a white kerchief on her head, a belt of silk adorned with silver, with a purse and keys; and two rings on each finger³. And soon after this period we find a wanton country girl described as wearing a red kirtle, brown hose, and her long yellow hair hanging down from under her kerchief⁴. But in the chief towns the dress of the women was more extravagant with long trains, an object of severe satire to Lindsay the poet.

⁹ Ibid. 67, &c.

¹ Cap. 42.

² Hist. 218. For the dress of inferior ranks few materials arise; and that of the men in particular is passed in silence by the poets, and other contemporaries. The coat now began to supplant the jacket.

³ Maitland Poems, I, 70.

⁴ Ibid. 136.

1488—

1542

SECTION II.

Government, Laws, Tactics.

SO ample a description has been given of the Scottish constitution, in the preceding retrospect, that little information can be added. A statute of 1493 continues to brand the government of James III, by representing him as not only by evil counsels lavishing away the royal domains, but as receiving resignations, and granting enfeoffments, in prejudice of the righteous heirs⁵. In 1490 a tax having been imposed to defray the expence of an embassy, it is ordered that the prelates assess the clergy: but that the sheriffs and royal bailiffs, having been often charged before by the king's letters, shall in a week produce the quotas of the barons: and the provosts and bailies of burghs shall present their portions on a short warning, under pain of imprisonment. It is added that as the lords in parliament learn that letters of discharge from the tax have been granted by the king to some prelates and peers, they are annulled; "as the king could not remit the tax, it being granted by the estates to the ambassador for an appointed purpose." The noted ordinance concerning *leasing-making*, or political slander, was explained not only to imply false reports to the king, concerning the barons, great men, or subjects in general; but also misrepresentations to them of the conduct of their sovereign⁷: an important addition, and which shews that the statute was before understood only to refer to a kind of *scandalum magnatum*.

⁵ Cap. 50.⁶ Cap. 9.⁷ 1540, c. 83.

The treasure collected by the avarice of the third James, 1488—
 was soon dissipated by his successor among a covetous aristocracy. In 1490 a statute appears, revoking all alienations by James IV since his coronation; “so that all lands, rents, customs, burrow-rents, farms, marts, mutton, poultry, average, carriage, and other duties,” then belonging to the crown may continue in their former state⁸. On the marriage of that prince to Margaret of England, her jointure is computed at two thousand pounds sterling, perhaps about twenty thousand of modern currency: in the usual proportion of one third the revenue arising from the royal domains, and the customs, might amount to sixty thousand of our pounds, exclusive of benefices, wards, marriages, and other emoluments of the crown. The marriages of James V afford no positive evidence⁹.

So slow was the progress of government in Scotland, that the valuable memoir above quoted, written about 1590, may be safely used. It is there observed that the king had no negative in parliament, but the memoirist forgets the dangerous negative before debate, secured by the institution of the lords of the articles: that most offices were hereditary even those of the sheriffs, who not only execute *res judicatas* as in England, but judge in civil and criminal cases: that the lords of session elected

⁸ Cap. 10.

⁹ In an account of the revenue of Scotland, A. D. 1667, ms. Harl. 6836, f. 29—60, collected by sir William Purves, solicitor general, from the rolls and records of exchequer, the chief heads are lands, customs, blanch duties yearly accounted for by the sheriffs, wards, marriages, escheats of bastards, nonentries, fines, licences; gratuities or taxes are ranked as inconstant revenue. In 1502 the earldom of March, annexed to the crown, yielded yearly 5121*l.* 6*s.* Scottish: in 1538 Jedburgh forest was of the annual value of 300*l.*: Glasgow paid 13*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*; Lanark 40*l.* The herring fishery in the Hebudes, annexed to the crown in 1593, was in 1620 let to Mr. John Archibald for 1000*l.* in f. v. 43, are given the details of the herring duties.

1488— their own members, and the king's recommendation was
 1542 despised: that the pardon of crimes was not a peculiar prerogative of the crown, many peers exerting it in their hereditary judicatures: that the king cannot make peace, or war, but with the consent of the three estates: that in war the subjects only follow the king thirty days on their own provisions, and dismiss if no further conditions be stipulated; hence they protract the operations, and the nobles often rise in mutiny, having no reward nor interest in a severe and unwilling service. The writer adds that James III tore the earl of Morton's charter, because it bore a jurisdiction without any appeal to the king; but he was forced to sew it. "Among the highlanders he seemeth to have no more authority, than he can get by interest or force'."

In this memoir the crown lands remaining at the time, are only estimated at the yearly value of five thousand pounds sterling. The exports are stated at two hundred thousand pounds; and the customs were of course small, perhaps about twenty thousand pounds, Scotch money, a year. The confiscations and wardships were boldly claimed by the nobles, as soon as they fell: and while their own revenues were far too large, in proportion either to those of the king or commons, they greedily grasped at the scanty royal income, which it ought to have been their duty and honour to enlarge.

Lindsay in his play written about 1540, points out many reforms necessary in the government: that all the temporal lands be let in feu-farm, after the French form, or a soccage tenure free from military service: that the lords should not support robbers to oppress the poor: that a senate of justice be appointed at Elgin or Inverness, for the northern regions, as well as that at Edinburgh for the southern: that no temporal

¹ *ms. ut supra.*

fuit be brought before ecclesiastic courts: that no benefices be 1488—
 assigned, except to learned ecclesiastics who can preach: that 1542
 none shall purchase benefices either from the pope or the king:
 that the vicars be debarred from robbing the poor, on pretence
 of *corse-presents*, and the like: that the clergy shall reside: that
 except in the cases of the archbishoprics no money pass to Rome
 for bulls of confirmation, as neither Peter nor Paul ever drew
 money in that net: that priests may marry: that no barons
 wed the bastard daughters of the rich clergy².

The magnificence of the court of James IV rather corresponded with his mind, than with his revenue: and the new profession of courtier seems first to dawn in his reign. Dunbar and other contemporary poets aim their satire against this new class of men, their insignificant pretensions, their affected services, their slavish cunning and arts, their mean hypocrisy; while they really only formed a cloud to hide truth and merit from the royal eye. On the acquisition of the Hebrides, as before stated, that monarch gave a more appropriated title to his eldest son, than the diminutive style of duke of Rothsay, that of prince of Scotland and of the Isles³. The latter would have been the best provincial denomination; but the change, like most others for the better, was set aside.

The ancient court of session, consisting of committees of parliament, if it rather slept during the reign of James III, was revived by his son; for in 1504 the court of daily council was created, "because there has been great confusion of summons at every session," so that leisure or opportunity would not serve to terminate them at one sitting in the year, and the poor thus wanted justice; therefore a daily council is appointed

² Scottish Poems, 1792, Vol. II, p. 254—259.

³ Carta J. IV, 1 Jan. 1508 in Reg. as tutor of his son, JACOBI PRINCIPIS SCOTIÆ ET INSULARUM.

1488— to sit continually at Edinburgh, at the royal residence, or where
 1542 the king shall chuse, to decide all civil causes, “ and have the
 same power as the lords of session ⁴.” This court continued
 till James V created the new court of session in 1532, as we
 have seen ⁵.

The *crowner*, or coroner, continues to attract notice even in the reign of James V, with which his ancient office seems to expire. Two statutes, of 1529 and 1535, regulate the manner in which the coroners are to proceed, in arresting criminals indicted in the courts of justiciary ⁶. The absurd privilege of sanctuary is restricted by an act, ordering the ecclesiastics to appoint lay keepers, who are instantly to surrender murderers to the sheriff, bailiff, or steward, of the county ⁷.

Those whose curiosity may prompt them to study the legal procedures of the times, may find ample materials in the statutes. Suffice it here to observe that the *brief* maintained its

⁴ Cap. 58.

⁵ Keith Hist. App. 72 has published the bulls for erecting the new court of Session 1532, and levying the salaries from the ecclesiastic revenues: for which purpose, or rather to secure the king's fidelity to the papal see, 10,000 ducats a year are granted. In an account of the Scottish courts of judicature, in the time of James VI, Cal. B. V, 266—273, it is stated that the judges all sat at a long table, facing the door; the chancellor and president in the middle, facing whom were the clerks, and behind them the bar, where stood the advocates and parties. The author proceeds to say that there was no common law in Scotland; but the judges proceeded on *municipal* law, or the statutes of parliament, and that failing, the civil law: yet there were some usages, as succession to lands, and the like, decided by *consuetude*. When a senator died the king named three candidates, the ablest of whom was selected by the judges. The court decided not *secundum rigorem juris*, but *secundum æquum et bonum*, thus resembling the English court of chancery.

⁶ Cap. 5. 34. Henryson the poet, about 1500, mentions the crowner, his wand, and book of indictments, p. 113, Scot. Poems, Edin. 1770.

⁷ 1535, c. 23.

pre-eminence; and by a statute of 1491 no new forms are 1488—permitted, except the brief of *summonds of error*⁸. In 1542 1504 we find that processes were conducted before the sheriff, “either by action of debt, or brieves:” and the act ordains that no sheriff nor officer shall pretend to falsify justice by impositions on the successful party, but that the expences be fixed at four pence each *act*⁹. The *taillie* is specially mentioned only to infer a restriction from heirs general to heirs male: by their solemn acts of revocation, James IV in 1493, and his survivor in 1537, annul all such *taillies* of any lands in the kingdom: but the latter adds “against the law and good conscience’.”

Under the year 1537 Lindsay presents an instance of the duel permitted in a case of accusation of treason. The lairds of Drumlanrig and Hemsfield were the actors; the former being near-sighted struck at random, but broke his antagonist’s sword, upon which they were parted by the heralds. That writer adds that some other duels were also fought by men of the south of Scotland, on accusations of treason; but he passes them with obscure brevity². They were probably connected with the affair of lady Glamis, and the Douglasses. Dempster mentions that the duel was still used, in cases of treason, where there were no witnesses but the accuser, in his time 1623; and he specifies one of 1598 between Francis Mowbray and an Italian³.

The state of tactics may be in great part discerned from the account of the battle of Flodden, the expeditions of John duke of Albany, and other smaller incidents and notices detailed in the historical narrative. In 1491 James IV enacted

⁸ C. 24.

⁹ Cap. 67.

¹ Cap. 51, 70.

² Hist. 233, 234.

³ In his notes to Accoltus de bello Hierosolymitano, Florent. 1623, 4to, p. 273.

1488—another statute of some length concerning *weapon-schawings*,
 1542 or displays of armour: it is ordered that they be made four
 times in the year; every gentleman worth ten pounds a year
 in land, or more, shall have basnet, fallat (or helm without a
 crest,) *white-hat*, gorget or pisan, armour for the legs, sword,
 spear, and dagger: those of smaller incomes to arm accordingly.
 Yeomen to have bows and quivers, or an axe instead, with
 sword, buckler, dagger, and spear: and burgeses in similar
 array: all according to their property to wear white-armour,
 brigantines, or jacks, with splents and gauntlets of plate-ar-
 mour. Foot-ball and golf are again prohibited, that due
 attention may be paid to archery⁴.

James V in 1540 ordered that every *nobleman*, such as earls,
 lords, knights, barons, and persons exceeding one hundred
 pounds in yearly rent, should use white, or plate, armour, light
 or heavy as they chuse, and weapons becoming their rank; that
 those of smaller income in the low-lands have a jack of plate,
 halbrik or brigantine, gorget or pisan with splents, knee-pans
 of mail, and gauntlets of plate or mail: that unlanded gen-
 tlemen and yeomen have jacks of plate, halbriks, splents,
 fallat, or steel bonnet, with pisan, or gorget, and all to wear
 swords. No weapons are to be admitted at displays of armour,
 except spears, pikes of six elms in length, Leith axes, halbards,
 hand-bows and arrows, cross-bows, culverins, and two-handed
 swords. Burgeses are to arm in the same proportions of their
 income: those *worth one hundred pounds in goods* in white ar-
 mour; those under, but who may yearly spend ten pounds, like
 the yeomanry⁵.

In the same parliament it was decreed that, considering
 the damage done to the grounds of the poor, by the multi-

⁴ Cap. 31, 32.

⁵ Cap. 87.

titude of horsemen advancing to the army, and the impedi- 1488—
 ment they caused in battle, “where all must fight on foot,” 1542
 no horses be allowed except those for carriage; but that
 on arrival at the appointed place of meeting, the horses be
 sent back by a boy, and not by “a fencible man,” or one ca-
 pable of arms and self-defence: penalty death. But the act
 extends not to earls, lords, barons, great-landed men, or others
 permitted by the king, or his lieutenant, to pass on horseback
 wherever the army moves⁶.

A few culverins and hagbuts were the unwieldy fire-arms,
 then borne by the soldiers. But the artillery was of numerous
 descriptions, as the reader may have observed in the preceding
 books. A statute of 1541 bears that, as the shot of guns, hagbuts,
 hand-bows, and other small artillery then commonly used, is so
 prejudicial to the courage of noble and valiant men, who
 cannot manifest their prowess except they have equal instru-
 ments, it is therefore ordained that every landed man have a
hagbut of founde, called a *hagbut of crochert*, with their *calms*,
 bullets and *pellacs* of lead, or iron, and a proper quantity of
 powder, for every hundred pound of land in the new extent;
 and he that has but a hundred mark land shall have two cul-
 verins, while a forty pound land shall provide one culverin,
 with *calms*, lead, and powder: with trestles to be ready at all
 times for shooting the hagbuts. And the persons of property
 above specified shall provide one man, or more, to fire the
 hagbuts, and culverins, and teach others. The act is extended
 to lords of regality, and clergy: and adds that the hagbuts and
 culverins shall remain at their castles, abbeys, or mansions, to
 be kept in due order by them and their successors, for the de-
 fence of the realm. And as no estimate has yet been formed

⁶ Cap. 86.

1488—concerning the burghs, it is ordered that the magistrates immediately prepare corresponding regulations. Ladies of conjunct-fee, and life-rent, are to assist, in proportion to their revenues⁷.

The next statute ordains that merchants shall import hagbuts, or metal to make them, and powder, and *calms*, according to the value of their cargoes⁸.

Of large artillery James IV had provided a noble train, among which Lindsay mentions the seven sifers, pieces of superior size and exquisite fabric, the work of Robert Borthwick master of the artillery, who inscribed on his productions this rude line,

Machina sum Scoto Borthwic fabricata Roberto⁹.

The sword, dagger, and turquoise ring, of that great prince passed to the duke of Norfolk, earl marshal of England, after the battle of Flodden; and a descendant presented them to the college of heralds, London, where they remain¹.

⁷ Cap. 94. For the meaning of the obscure words Grose's history of the English army may be consulted.

⁸ Cap. 95. ⁹ Hist. 174. Lesley, 353.

¹ The sword and dagger are engraved in Lamb's Flodden Field: their hilts have been plated with silver, being blades of battle not of ornament; the sword is inscribed on one side with the name of the maker *Maestro Domingo*; on the other with a Spanish device, being perhaps a toledo. The ring is only fit for the little finger of a man of middling person, and may be that which the queen of France sent him from her own hand. The helmet may be seen in the noted print of the Arundel family, in which the sword also appears.

SECTION III.

Agriculture, Useful Arts.

THE chief intelligence concerning these important topics 1488—
 still continues to be supplied by the statutes. Among the acts 1542
 beneficial to agriculture, may be enumerated that permitting
 the king to let all his lands in feu-farm, so that it be not in
 diminution of the rental, *grassums*, or other duties, and with
 such clauses in the leases as may be judged proper, to remain
 to heirs in perpetuity; that punishing fraudulent sales of land,
ex titulo oneroso, to strangers, while the heir or some friend
 was in prior possession; that for the plantation of woods, forests,
 and orchards, three acres of wood for every hundred pounds
 in the new extent of land; while tenants upon lease are to
 plant yearly for every mark-land one tree; the report against
 infringers to be yearly made to the sheriff, at his head-court
 after easter². A prior statute had ordained all landed propri-
 etors to form parks with deer, fish-ponds, rabbit-warrens, dove-
 cots, orchards, hedges; and to plant at least one acre of wood,
 where there were no great woods nor forests³. All persons
 having studs of horses are to keep proper mares, and stallions
 of a superior size, in order to improve the breed⁴.

Among the prohibitory statutes of a similar tendency may
 be named, that ordering no multure to be extorted for flour
 arriving at Leith; and if adstrictions to particular milns had
 also been abolished the general advantage would have been

² 1504, c. 90, 1541, c. 105, 1535, c. 10. ³ 1504, c. 74.

⁴ 1535, c. 19.

1488—promoted; that regulating the rate of one boll in the *chalder*
 1542 of bear for making malt, and compelling the malt-makers to
 observe proper hours of sale; that against robbers of fish-ponds,
 dove-cots, orchards, gardens, bee-hives; and those punishing
 injurers of wood, “as the wood of Scotland is utterly de-
 stroyed,” burners of corn, and of heath at improper seasons⁵.

In a letter of 1514, lord Dacre mentioning the ravages
 committed by the English in Scotland, says that in an extent
 of twelve miles, along the river of Lid, there had been one
 hundred ploughs; in six miles along the Ludder forty ploughs⁶;
 no mean idea of the state of agriculture in the southern part
 of Scotland, though chiefly a pastoral country.

Concerning the useful arts the information continues equally
 meagre. In 1490 the fineness of gold and silver work was
 again regulated, and any fraud guarded against: the impositions
 of drapers, and dyers of cloth is branded, the former drawing
 or extending the cloth, and weakening it, in order to increase
 the measure; the latter using perishable colours⁷.

Sir Patrick Hamilton was in 1498 appointed governor of the
 castle of Blackness, with leave to build salt-pans. In 1527
 John Drummond is styled the king's carpenter, and servant:
 and, 1535, there is granted to the abbot of Holyrood-
 house, for repairing and maintaining the causeway of the
 Canongate at Edinburgh, a duty of one penny upon every
 loaded cart, and a half-penny for each empty one⁸.

Few of the corporations of trades in the town of Scotland
 are of more ancient date than 1470: that of the surgeons and

⁵ 1493, c. 44, 1504, c. 92, 69, 71, 1541, c. 118, 1535, c. 11.

⁶ Cotton lib. Cal. B. II, 155, 17th May.

⁷ Cap. 13; 1541, c. 112.

⁸ Scotst. Cal. sub datis. The classes of foreign artisans imported by James V
 are before enumerated, under the year 1541.

barbers appears in 1505⁹. The goldsmiths cannot be traced as 1488—
 a fraternity till 1581; the skinners 1586; the furriers uncer- 1542
 tain; the hammermen 1496; the carpenters and masons 1475;
 the taylors uncertain: the bakers appear in 1522, the butchers
 before 1488, the cordiners 1475, the weavers 1476, the
 waukers or clothiers 1500, the bonnet makers 1530. What is
 called the golden charter of the city of Edinburgh was granted
 by James III, in 1482, from gratitude to the citizens for assist-
 ing in his deliverance from captivity in the castle; among other
 privileges the magistrates are constituted perpetual sheriffs
 within the burgh, and appurtenances¹.

The *seal of cause*, or deed of incorporation of the hammermen, 12th April 1496, by the provost and baillies of Edinburgh, at the royal command, is a curious specimen of the municipal regulations of the period. It includes black-smiths, goldsmiths, lorimers or bit-makers, fadlers, cutlers, buckler-makers, armourers, pewterers; prohibits interlopers, and allows none to open shops but freemen of the burgh, examined by three masters of the craft, and after paying forty shillings for the service and ornaments of St. Eloi's altar; regulates apprentices; ordains two searchers to examine all the work every saturday afternoon; permits assemblies to deliberate on any infringement, and report to the magistrates; the penalty eight shillings for the use of the altar, where divine service is to be repeated daily by the chaplain of the corporation².

⁹ Their charter is printed in "An historical account of the blue blanket, or craftsmens banner," Edin. 1780, 8vo, whence it appears, p. 63, that a condemned criminal was allowed once a year for the study of anatomy.

¹ Ibid. passim. ² Ib. p. 28. The magistrate styled provost in some burghs, was denominated *alderman* at Air, so late as 1507. Scott. Cal.

SECTION IV.

Commerce, Money, Navigation.

1488— In the first parliament of James IV, Oct. 1488, it was ordered
 1542 that all ships, foreign or national, should only arrive at the
 free burroughs, such as Dunbarton, Irvin, Wigton, Kircud-
 bright, Renfrew, and others; that no foreigners buy fish, ex-
 cept salted and barrelled; nor any other merchandise except
 at free burroughs, paying their duties and customs, and taking
 their coquets: any commerce at the isle of Lewis is specially
 forbidden; and no foreigners are to freight Scottish vessels, nor
 the converse¹. The meaning of this statute seems to have
 been to prevent contraband trade on the western coast; the
 eastern being replete with free burghs here unmentioned.
 The prohibition of navigation between the days of All Saints,
 and Candlemas is reinforced. In 1493 it was enacted that, as
 foreign vessels often eluded the customs, the masters and mer-
 chants should lodge in the chief ports; and their landlords be
 answerable for their conduct⁴.

Some other regulations concerning commerce are repeated,
 and reinforced, by James V in 1535: when it was also ordered
 that no ship should be freighted to Flanders, except twice in
 the year, to the easter market and to that on the day of finding
 the cross, the third of May; an ordinance which only seems
 capriciously to fetter trade⁵. In 1542 redress was demanded
 from England for a ship of Aberdeen, worth 600*l*. Scottish

¹ Cap. 3.⁴ 1490, c. 14, 1493, c. 41.⁵ Cap. 31.

money in fish, cloth, and wool⁶. Many other illustrations of 1488—the state of commerce appear in the historical narrative, and ¹⁵⁴² need not be here recapitulated. Perhaps the most advantageous was the produce of the piracy of the Bartons against the Portuguese; and the blackamoor woman, a theme of Dunbar's poetry, was probably among the novelties imported by that armed traffic⁷. Salmon continued to be a considerable export; and three or four statutes appear, during this period, concerning the capture of the fish, and size of the barrels. The exportation of tallow is rigorously forbidden; as the realm only furnished a sufficient quantity for its own use, little flesh being eaten by the poor⁸.

The Netherlands continued to be the chief seat of Scottish foreign trade: and we now find a Conservator appointed, who is to judge all disputes between the merchants of Scotland abroad, having six, or at the least four, assessors on every cause. The Conservator, or his attorney, is ordered to visit Scotland once in the year, to answer any charges against him⁹.

In Dunbar's poem of the Two married Women and the Widow, a woman of rank is introduced, who has wedded a merchant of opulence. She induces him to settle his houses on her child; then gives scope to her extravagance, in gowns of silk, and scarlet cloth, golden chains, ruby rings, while her son is dressed like a little lord. On the death of her husband she is rich, and courted by barons and knights¹.

The state of the Scottish coinage was greatly improved by James V; the gold in particular is of elegant form, and superior workmanship, so as to vie with most coins in Europe of the time. His father had, in the parliament of 1488, ordered

⁶ Epist. R. S. ms. Reg. 18 B. VI.

⁷ Maitland Poems, I, 97.

⁸ 1490, c. 15, &c. 1541, c. 123.

⁹ 1504, c. 81, 82.

¹ Maitland Poems, I, 55, 58, 62.

1488—a new coinage both of gold and silver; Alexander Livingston
 1542 being the chief moneyer, and James Crichton of Ruthvendaun
 warden of the mint². The importation of bullion by the
 merchants, in proportion to their cargoes, was reinforced by
 the same statute. In 1541 it was ordered that no premium
 should be taken for exchanging gold money against silver³.

When Angus had the chief power, in the minority of James V,
 he issued a large groat, called the Douglas groat, if we believe
 Lindsay, which passed for eighteen pence Scottish, or four pence
 halfpenny English currency⁴. It has already been observed
 that, on the 25th Sept. 1527, Ivaizimus Heiztotter, a German,
 chief coiner to the king, was ordered to bring gold and silver
 from Germany to be coined; but the engraver of the mint
 was to be a Scottish artist⁵.

The gold of James IV is only of one size: but of his suc-
 cessor there are three denominations. The groat, and half-
 groat, are the only silver coins: the penny, half-penny, and
 farthing, being in billon, or copper mixed or washed with
 silver. Compared with the English the Scottish money conti-
 nued as one to four. In 1489 a wedder sold at 3*s.* or 7*s.* 6*d.*
 modern sterling; an ox 15*s.* or about two guineas. The sa-
 lary of the fifteen senators of the college of justice, on its in-
 stitution 1532, was 1400*l.* Scottish, or 350*l.* English of the
 time, which multiplied by ten, for the increased plenty of
 money, yields 3500*l.* modern currency. A pint of Bourdeaux
 wine 10*d.*, of Rochelle 8*d.*, imported by the eastern coast; that
 by the western, a shorter passage, was two pence a pint cheaper;
 the Scottish pint quadruples that of England; and the wine
 was of course about a shilling a quart, modern English measure
 and currency. If by a general rule we multiply the prices in

² Cap. 2.³ Cap. 99.⁴ Hist. p. 206.⁵ Scotst. Cal.

Scotish by three, during the reigns of James IV and V, we 1488—
shall nearly attain the modern sterling rate ⁶. 1542

Concerning the state of navigation, and of the Scotish navy, so much information has appeared in the preceding books, that little can be added without an unnecessary repetition.

Under James IV the Scotish navy had attained considerable estimation; nor was it neglected by his successor. The statutes for building ships and floops, for the fishery in the western seas, were unhappily eluded; but several anecdotes, in the preceding pages, evince the maritime skill of the Scots at this period to have been respectable.

SECTION V.

Ecclesiastic History, Literature, Language.

THE ecclesiastic history of Scotland, as is well known, continues a barren field, till the reformation gave it a new character, and importance. But some illustrations of the state of the clergy, and church, may not be unnecessary.

It may be computed that about one half of the wealth of the kingdom was in the hands of the clergy; and few there were of the order who employed it better than the peers, or preferred to the fading pomp and luxury of the day, the eternal fame of literature, and the arts. But the benefices became of course, as the reader must before have observed, an object of great attention to the government and legislation. In 1488

⁶ See Ruddiman Introd. ad Andersoni Diplomata. From the English statutes, (Pynson 1497 folio,) it appears that, in the time of Henry VII, carpenters, &c. had 6*d.* a day, if meat 4*d.* in summer; in winter only 5*d.* and 3*d.* the

1488—the penal statutes against the purchase of benefices, without
 1542 the royal presentation, were repeated. The right of election,
 as in the reign of James I, was in 1493 formally restored, and
 probably maintained by the piety of the fourth James: and
 the taxation of benefices at Rome was ordered to be only to
 the extent of the ancient roll of Bagimont⁷. In the following
 year, as the kingdom was impoverished by the exportation of
 money to Rome by the clergy, the practice is forbidden, under
 the high penalties of rebellion and treason; and in the last
 parliament of James V, the same punishment is extended to
 all intruders upon bishoprics, and abbacies, during a vacancy⁸.

Dunbar, himself a clergyman desirous of a benefice, severely
 satirizes those avaricious priests who crowded pluralities upon
 pluralities, enjoyed all the luxuries of this life, and left the
 poor to God's providence, and the spiritual comforts of a future
 existence⁹.

The church continued militant; and several ecclesiastics
 were slain at the battle of Flodden. The statutes of James IV
 and V, concerning displays of armour, shew that the tenants
 of the church-lands had no exemption; and Mary was to
 ordain that, when a clergyman was slain in battle, or died in
 the camp, his nearest relation should have the benefice¹.

A more amiable occupation of the clergy was their preach-
 ing, in the common tongue, for the instruction of all ranks.
 Dunbar boasts of having preached in the pulpit at Canterbury²;

⁷ Cap. 4, 38, 39.

⁸ 1494, c. 53. 1541, c. 125.

⁹ Maitland Poems, I, 105. See also Lindsay's Papingo, where he execrates
 the bestowing of benefices on the most worthless and impudent, bards and dice-
 players. For the numerous bastards of the bishops see the notes on Scot. Poems,
 Edin. 1770, p. 249, from the records. David Beton, natural son of the car-
 dinal, received a grant of the lands of Baky, &c. March 1539. Scotst. Cal.

¹ 1547, c. 4.

² Scot. Poems, 1770, p. 26: he was then a preaching
 friar, afterwards a secular clergyman.

and

and his ladies attend *plays*, preachings, and pilgrimages, and shew their drefs in church and market; his wanton widow displaying her chief artillery at church, though she pretend to pore upon her bright missal illumined with gold³. Cavendish, the attendant of Wolsey, in his interesting life of that proud cardinal says, “he caused one of his chaplains preach the word of God to the people⁴.” In 1508 a Scottish doctor explained St. Paul’s epistles at St. Paul’s, as we learn from André de Tholouse: and Dr. West, the English embassador 1513, writes “when the *passion* was preached, and the sermon done, the queen sent for me⁵.” Eight years before the reformation in Scotland, Mary was to impose high fines on those that interrupted “divine service, and preaching of the word of God⁶”; a statute probably levelled against the bold interruptions, given by the reformers to the catholic service.

The preaching friars had been instituted in the thirteenth century, with the intention of restoring that duty, often neglected by the superior clergy, and of opposing the popular preaching of the lollards; as the jesuits were afterwards founded, in order to oppose learning to that of the protestants. In Italy itself Savonarola was to present forcible specimens of the power of pulpit eloquence: and to forfeit his life in 1498 for his opposition to the papal abuses⁷.

³ Maitland Poems, I, 47, 60. ⁴ Chapt. 18.

⁵ Julius A. III. Jan. 1508. Cal. B. VI, 56.

⁶ 1552, c. 17.

⁷ Lindsay in his Papingo, written in 1530, says

War nocht the preching of the beggyng freris,

Tynt war the faith amang the seculeris.

And he loudly blames the bishops for not preaching, as their predecessors did. Robert Lindsay, hist. 155, represents Patrick Lindsay a clergyman, as making an eloquent speech for lord David his brother, who exclaimed in surprize, “Verily brother, you have fine pyet words; I would not have trowed that you had such words. By St. Mary you shall have the mains of Kirkforther for it.”

1488— The Franciscan friars, of the severe order of Observantines,
 1542 were highly favoured by James IV: and are often ridiculed
 by Dunbar, and other contemporary poets. Yet the king
 would, in lent especially, become a mere brother of their
 convent at Stirling, which he founded in 1494⁸.

Nor were the vices of the monks, and nuns, spared by Dunbar and Lindsay. The abbot has a concubine, and sends his sons to the schools at Paris; he cannot preach, but excels in playing at cards, dice, or tables: the prioress is clothed in a secular kirtle of silk, under her habit; and is little guilty of chastity⁹. The vicar's extortions are held out to execration, in the play of the latter author: and the *pardonner*, or vagabond who shews false reliques, and sells pardons for all sins, is treated with deserved ridicule¹. In the tale, called The Friars of Berwick, two are of decent manners, but a third is the adulterous paramour of a farmer's wife².

The progress of the reformed doctrine will appear from the historical narrative; but some minute events may here be stated. John Knox, whose chronology is far from accurate, says that in 1494, the sixth of the reign of James IV, many persons called Lollards of Kyle were summoned before the king in council, by Blackader archbishop of Glasgow; among them were the Campbells of Cessnock and Newmilns, Read of Barskomming, Shaw of Polkernac, ladies Stairs and Pokelie, Helen and Isabel Chalmers. He narrates the charges at length; and the articles are generally directed against the papal abuses. The magnanimity of James treated the affair with due contempt, and it expired in a torrent of ridicule against the arch-

⁸ Spott. Rel. Houses, 276.

⁹ Play, ut supra, p. 243, 250.

¹ Ibid. p. 64, 67, &c.

² Maitland Poems, I, 66, 70.

bishop; Read, one of the accused, being a man of firm mind, 1488—
and facetious repartee³. 1542

Soon after the execution of Patrick Hamilton, in 1528, William Arithe, a friar at Dundee, ridiculed in his sermons the vices of the ecclesiastics, and the abuse of excommunication. The priest, said he, whose duty is to pray for the people, will solemnly arise on funday and exclaim, “Anne has lost her spindle; there is a flail stolen behind the barn; the good woman on the other side of the way has lost a horn-spoon: God’s curse, and mine, I give to them that know of these goods, and restore them not⁴.”

Among the learned reformers, who left Scotland in the reign of James V, Knox enumerates Alexander Allice, and John Fife, appointed professors at Leipzig; doctor Macaby or Machabeus who retired to Coppenhagen⁵. The same writer mentions that, when James returned from his noted voyage to the isles, July 1540, the clergy presented a list of the protestant peers and chiefs, that he might punish them and seize their estates; but Kirkaldy of Grange remonstrating against the malice of the ecclesiastics, the king dismissed them with this stern reprimand, “Pack ye jugglers, get ye to your charges, and reform your own lives; be not instruments of discord between my nobility and me, or I vow to God I shall reform you; not as the king of Denmark by imprisonment, nor as he of England by hanging and beheading, but yet by most severe punishments, if ever such motion proceed from you again⁶.”

³ Hist. of the Ref. p. 2, edit. London 1644, folio.

⁴ Ibid. p. 17. Of William Arithe, and Alexander Alane, whose book on the Authority of the Word of God, was printed abroad in 1542, 12mo, little is known. Alexander Allice or Alæsius is more celebrated.

⁵ Ibid. p. 21.

⁶ Ibid. p. 30.

1488— The progress of literature during this period was considerable. Of the poems of sir John Ross, probably a priest, Stobo, and Quintin Shaw, mentioned by their contemporary Dunbar, few reliques have yet appeared. Dunbar himself flourished in the reign of James IV, and minority of his successor; and is deservedly styled the chief of the ancient Scottish poets, his language and imagery being wonderful for the time. Nor is Gawin Douglas, bishop of Dunkeld, much inferior; the great merit of his translation of Virgil yielding to the original productions of his genius. Kennedy flourished about the year 1490; and Robert Henryson composed his apologues about the year 1500. James Inglis, denominated *Sir*, because he was a dignified priest, secretary to queen Margaret, and afterwards abbot of Culros, was slain in 1531, as mentioned in the historical department; and is celebrated by Lindsay for his ballads, farces, and plays. Kyd, Stewart, and another Stewart of Lorn, Galbreth, and Kinloch, are more known by the praise of sir David Lindsay, than by the remains of their productions. Ballenden, in his translation of Boyce's history, Edinburgh 1541, has given some tolerable poetry⁷. But sir David Lindsay bears the palm in the latter part of the reign of James V, by his Testament of the Papingo or Parrot, the Dream, the Elegy on the death of queen Magdalen, his Complaint to the king, Answer to the king's satire, Complaint of Bash the king's hound, Satire on long trains and veiled faces, Katie's confession, Justing of Watson and Barbour, History of squire Meldrum, and his Play or Satire on the Three Estates, first acted at Linlithgow in 1540, and afterwards at Edinburgh and Coupar in Fife in 1552. His Tragedy of Cardinal Beton,

⁷ See the chronological list of the Scottish poets, in Vol. I of the Maitland poems, p. xcii—c.

1546, and his four books of the ancient monarchies 1552, 1488—
belong to the ensuing minority of Mary⁸. 1542

Among the writers in prose John Mair was one of the most distinguished. He was born at North Berwick, studied at Oxford and Paris; and became a professor in the Sorbonne in 1509. In 1518 he was invited to his native country by James Beton archbishop of Glasgow; and four years after followed him to St. Andrew's. He died about 1530, and probably about the eightieth year of his age. His history, though scholastic and meagre, yet revived that important study, after a long and fatal silence since the year 1437, when Bowar closed his labours⁹.

The noted Hector Boyce, one of the most egregious historical impostors that ever appeared in any country, published his chaos of fables in 1527, six years after Major's work. But his lives of the bishops of Aberdeen, 1522, 4to, form a more pleasing specimen of his abilities¹.

In a work indebted to his elegant epistles, Patrick Panter, secretary to James IV, must not be omitted. He was born at Montrose about 1470, studied at Paris; and gained the pre-

⁸ There is a *strena*, or latin poem on the assumption of the power by James V, either 1524, 26, or 28, 4 leaves 4to, printed by Thomas Davidson, no date, mark two savages supporting an escutcheon, THOMAS DA. The date of printing is the sole object of curiosity, the poetry being very poor.

Nam desperatis languet pessundata rebus.

Scotia, quæ miseros ducere visa dies.

Factio, rupta fides, et pax simulata, tumultus;

Falsus amor, cædes, lata rapina, dolus.

⁹ Elphinston bishop of Aberdeen, 1484—1514, only made collections, as appears from Boyce's own account in his lives of the bishops of that see.

¹ Boyce having resided long in France, affects to spell his name *Bois* in his autograph, (see pref. to Hearne's Fordun :) it is surprizing he did not latinize it *Sylvius*.

1488—ferments of preceptor to Alexander Stuart natural son of James,
 1542 and the abbacy of Cambuskenneth. He died at Paris in 1519.

By a singular fatality, David Panter, apparently his nephew, some time after succeeded to his office, and abilities; and to him we are indebted for the second volume of the royal epistles. David Panter continued in favour after the death of James V: became bishop of Ross in 1545, and died in 1558².

Adam Abel, a Franciscan friar of the convent of Observantines at Jedburgh, wrote at the request of George fifth lord Seton, a history of Scotland in latin, called *Rota temporum*. The work commenced with a short general history from the creation; and ended with the octave of the nativity of the virgin in the year 1535: and the author afterwards abridged it in English. Lesley bishop of Ross is said to have used this work in his history, which indeed from the year 1500 breathes most genuine and minute information; and it is probable that Abel only extracted the preceding parts from Mair, and Boyce. But the loss of the work is greatly to be regretted³.

Ferrerius a learned foreigner, having distinguished himself by his productions on Scottish history, it would be ungrateful to refuse him a slight commemoration. He was born at *Che-rium* in Piedmont, apparently Chieri near Turin, in 1502, went to Paris in 1525; where, in 1528, Robert Reid twenty-third abbot of Kinloss, returning from his ordination at Rome, found him, and brought him to Scotland, where Ferrerius remained three years at court with his patron. But desirous of returning to his studies, the Piedmontese retired to Kinloss; where he had been employed in instructing the monks for five

² Præf. ad Tom. I et II, Epist. Reg. Scot.

³ Spottiswood Rel. Houses, end of Keith's Bishops, p. 277. The English abridgment was lost, when the mob ravaged the castle of Roslin, at the Revolution. Sir George Mackenzie had an imperfect copy: ib.

years; before he composed his history of that monastery in 1488—1537: and especially mentions a noble library, established there ¹⁵⁴² by Reid, of which our author wrote a catalogue or description. In 1539 Ferrerius visited France, and published at Paris two short latin treatises on the immortality of the soul, and the superiority of the sense of hearing to that of the sight. Reid being appointed bishop of the Orkneys, he again invited Ferrerius in 1540, who probably met the king there on his celebrated voyage of that year⁴. Five years after we find him occupied in his account of the family of Gordon. His supplement to Boyce appeared at Lausanne, nominally Paris, 1575, and his dedication to James Beton, second archbishop of Glasgow of that name, is dated at Paris 1574, when he was in his seventy-third year; having probably retired from Scotland at the commencement of the reformation, after a residence of between twenty and thirty years.

The statute concerning the education of the sons of barons, and free-holders, seems not to extend to the sons of peers, whose profession was arms and hunting, and who were to glory in their ignorance, even at the period of Sadler's noted embassy. But schools now became frequent; Henryson the poet is schoolmaster of Dunfermlin, perhaps teacher of youth in the Benedictine convent there, about the year 1500. In 1534 we find Henry Henderson, schoolmaster of Edinburgh, accused of the protestant heresy⁵.

⁴ Hist. monasterii de Kinlofs, ordinis Cisterciensis, in Scotia, a Joanne Ferrerio Pedemontano, ejusdem monasterii monacho. Martene et Durand Thes. Nov. Anecd. Paris 1717, 5 vols. folio, Tom. V. Among the additions by the author it is also mentioned that, in 1542, bishop Reid and lord Erskine were commissioners on the borders; and proceeding into England were detained, till Henry had arranged the frontiers for war.

⁵ Knox, p. 22. Henry Henryson, master of the high school of Edinburgh, occurs in a charter of 1530. Scott. Cal.

1488— In scholastic theology Mair, and some others, distinguished
 1542 themselves. But hardly can a work on law, medicine, ethics,
 natural philosophy, mathematics, be arranged among the
 Scottish literary stores of this period. The language may be
 sufficiently estimated by pieces in the appendix to this volume,
 not to mention the numerous exquisite poems known to every
 reader of taste.

SECTION VI.

Ornamental Arts, Manners, Dress.

JAMES IV improved, or enlarged, the castles of Falkland and Stirling, and founded a monastery near the latter; but that prince shewed more attachment to his navy than to architecture, and chiefly encouraged the military arts. His successor built a palace within the castle-walls of Stirling; and another at Linlithgow, in a more advantageous situation, than the ancient edifice which was demolished⁶. This new palace was praised by Mary of Guise, as equal to those of France; and from its remains, and those of part of the royal residences at Falkland and Holyroodhouse, the state of architecture may be estimated. Reid bishop of Orkney built the nave of the

⁶ Robert Lindsay, 229. David Lindsay in his *Papingo* celebrates the palace of Snawdoun or Stirling, its lofty towers, chapel royal, park and *round table* or place of tourney: and that of Linlithgow, equal he says to any in France. In Sept. 1529 some lands were granted to sir James Hamilton for building the palaces of Linlithgow and Stirling. In 1530 Peter Scrmigeour is "master of wark." *Scotst. Cal.*

church at Beaulieu in 1540⁷; but few other ecclesiastic fabrics 1488—
can be mentioned of this late epoch. 1542

Gawin Douglas in his Palace of Honour, presents, though in an ideal description, some hints on the architecture of his time. His palace has many towers with battlements, and turrets, adorned with gilded vanes: pinnacles, *fyels*, winding stair-cases; gilded *torres* or small pillars; *skarfment*, *reprise*, *corbell*; *fullyery* borders on the buttresses, *jalsms*, pillars, and arches⁸.

From a survey of the English borders, in the latter part of the reign of Henry VIII, it appears that the expence of building a tower was one hundred marks, of a barmekin two hundred; that to Cheviot forest, then filled with red-deer and roes, the Scots repaired often to steal the alder trees, that grew by the brooks, in order to build their hovels; and that even in Tynedale, on the northern Tyne, the house of the English chief was constructed of oaken beams, yet reputed a place of strength⁹.

Dunbar describes a garden, as surrounded with a high hedge of hawthorn, and filled with various flowers; and the ladies sit in an arbour, under a holly tree, the native ornament of the Scottish woods, amid the melody of singing birds¹. George lord Seton, 1470—1507, at great expence fitted out a ship called the Aquila, against the pirates of Dunkirk; he was a learned man, and set songs to music; he built the collegiate church or chapel of Seton in 1493; and about the same time Winton-house, to which he added a garden, the wonder of the times, “erecting about the knots of flowers five score *tores*

⁷ Ferrer. hist. mon. de Kinloss.

⁸ Scottish Poems, 1792, Vol. I. p. 112. The *torre* seems from the latin *torus*, part of a pillar.

⁹ Calig. B. VIII, 63—93. A curious paper.

¹ Maitland Poems, I, 44, 45.

1488— of timber, of two cubits high, with two knops on their
 1542 heads, the one above the other, each of them as great as
 a *rouch bouel*, overgilt with gold, and their shanks painted with
 diverse oiled colours.² Seton, and Winton, house now in
 ruins, are a few miles to the east of Edinburgh, on the deli-
 cious southern shore of the Forth, the Baia of Scotland.

Of painting at this period few memorials remain. A good
 portrait of Elphinston bishop of Aberdeen, 1484—1514, is
 preserved in the university there founded by him; and of
 James IV two curious portraits are extant.³ Yet even of
 James V, and illustrious persons of his reign, the portraits are
 uncommon, though some may lurk, neglected by a barbaric
 ignorance, and want of curiosity and taste, equal in their effects
 to the ravages of time or ferocious inroad. It is almost unne-
 cessary to mention that no native painter is known to have
 preceded Jameson in the seventeenth century; and that the
 artists who visited Scotland were mostly Flemings.

Douglas, in his poem above quoted, seems learned in music.
 He mentions *concorde*, *reports*, *proportions duplat*, *triplat*, *di-
 atesserial*, *sesque altera*, and *decupla*, *diapason*; *faburdoun*, *prik-
 song*, *descant*, *counter*, *cant-organ*, *figuration*, *gemmel*. The
 instruments are shalms, clarions, *portatives*, monycords, organ,
 tympane or drum, cymbal; cythol, psaltery.⁴

In passing to the consideration of the state of manners, the
 court claims the first attention. That of James IV, if we
 trust the satires of Dunbar, had no great pretensions to refine-
 ment: and the age was indeed a stranger to elegance, or deli-

² History of the Winton family by sir Richard Maitland, written about 1560.
 ms. Harl. 6091.

³ One is recently published in the Portraits of Illustrious Persons of Scotland,
 Part II. Another is in the Hamilton apartments Holyroodhouse. Pennant's
 Tour.

⁴ Scot. Poems, 1792, Vol. I, p. 73, 74.

cacy, qualities ill compensated by rude magnificence. Mar- 1488—
 garet the queen having ordered the poet a new doublet, James 1542
 Doig keeper of her wardrobe refused to deliver it: a dance at
 court is described with circumstances more ludicrous, than po-
 lished, and Miss Musgrave an English lady is alone applauded:
 the venereal disease is represented as a common malady of the
 courtiers, and their frivolous occupations and pretensions are
 ridiculed: the poet shews his claim to a benefice, and wishes
 that James were ruled by his queen's recommendations'. In
 the account of their marriage by John Young Somersfet herald,
 several curious particularities appear. When Margaret arrived
 at Newbottel, James, flying like a bird that seeks its prey,
 entered her chamber, and found her playing at cards: he en-
 tertained her by his own performance on the claricords and
 lute; and at his departure leaped on his horse, a fair courser,
 without putting his foot in the stirrup, and spurred on at full
 gallop, follow who might; but hearing that Surrey was be-
 hind, the king returned, and saluted the earl bare-headed.
 At another visit the queen gave a specimen of her skill in
 music, while James listened with bended knee: and on another
 he was attended by forty horse while he himself rode a mule.
 When she left Dalkeith the king met her half-way, mounted
 on a bay horse, trapped with gold, he and the gentlemen in
 his train riding as if after a hare: and an exhibition of chi-
 valry took place between sir Patrick Hamilton and another
 knight, a lady attending one of them, and bearing his hunting
 horn, the other knight seized the damsel, and a conflict en-
 sued till the king called *peace!* Of the pageants at Edin-
 burgh one represented a *licorn* or unicorn, and a greyhound,
 supporting a thistle and a red rose interlaced. At the nuptial

* Maitland Poems, I, 90, 94, 99, 102, 120.

1488— dinner the first course was a boar's head gilt; but not in flames,
 1542 as that at the wedding of James II. The tapestry of the
 chamber was figured with the Trojan story; the windows of
 painted glass bore, in various compartments, the arms of England
 and Scotland, and a thistle and rose interlaced under a crown.
 After supper and after dinner moralities were frequently acted,
 by John Inglis and his company; and the minstrels diversified
 the scene with music ⁶.

James IV was fond of alchymy; and an Italian adventurer,
 who pretended to the secret, was rewarded with the abbacy of
 Tunland in Galloway: the Italian not succeeding in the
 transmutation, by another eccentricity pretended, in the year
 1507, to fly from the battlements of Stirling castle, on wings
 prepared of various feathers; and his fall, though he fractured
 his thigh, afforded a theme of great ridicule to the courtiers
 and poets ⁷. Gawin Douglas represents the jugglers, or necro-
 mancers of his time, as changing Flanders' peas into precious
 stones, a nutmeg into a monk, a pye into a church ⁸.

Robert Lindsay of Pittscottie, describing in his simple and
 lively colours the early establishment of James V, mentions
 "treasurer, comptroller, secretary, Mr. macer, Mr. household,
 capper, carver, Mr. stabler, Mr. hunter, Mr. falconer, Mr.
 porter, and a fool, called John Mackilrie ⁹." This monarch
 had a *fut-band*, or guard of infantry; but the soldiers are
 represented as cowardly braggadocios in the satiric page of

⁶ Young's account. *Lel. Coll.* edit. 1774. Vol. IV, p. 258, seq.

⁷ *Lell.* 346. Dunbar's poems in lord Hailes's Coll. Edin. 1770. More-
 finus, author of the curious book called *Papatus*, Edin. 1594, 12mo, in another
 production *De Metallorum Causis*, Francof. 1593, 8vo, says that James sacrificed
 large sums to this Cagliostro of the day. Ded. See p. 107, a high opinion ex-
 pressed of the Scottish gold found at Crawford-muir.

⁸ Palace of Honour, *Sc. Poems*, 1792, I, 123. ⁹ *Hist.* p. 204.

David Lindsay¹. The wealth brought to his kingdom by 1488—
 Magdalen of France, enabled James to display considerable 1542
 magnificence: “such substance was never seen in Scotland as
 this young queen brought into it, for there was never the like
 in no man’s time in Scotland,” says the old historian, who
 enumerates the liberal donations of Francis to the Scottish king
 and his bride: among which are ships, horses, suits of exqui-
 site armour, cloths of gold, velvet, fatten, damask, taffeties
 and other filks; tapestries, ornaments of precious stones, and
 chains of gold². At her reception in Edinburgh the scaffolds
 for the pageants were painted with gold and azure; the foun-
 tains poured alternately water and wine; and the dresses of
 the allegorical personages were of singular beauty: the crafts-
 men appeared as archers clad in green, the burghesses in gowns
 of scarlet and *granit*; the lords of the session, the barons,
 bannerets, and peers, all in their most solemn and gorgeous
 attire. Nor were musicians of all kinds, heralds, and macers
 with silver rods, wanting to decorate the solemnity. The queen
 at length appeared attended by the chief ladies of Scotland:
 her dress dazzled the eye by the profusion of jewels; and over
 her the principal citizens supported a canopy of cloth of gold;
 while their wives and daughters chanted songs of congratula-
 tion, often interrupted by shouts of *Vive la Reine!* The
 speeches of the clergy and other orators, the coronation,
 tournaments, and banquets enlivened by the celebrated musi-
 cians of the chapel-royal, were additions to that pomp, which
 was so soon to terminate in the grave³.

The tournaments, and feats of chivalry, began to be some-
 what on the decline, after the reign of James IV, whose
 splendid exhibitions of this kind are mentioned in the narra-

¹ Play, Sc. Poems, 1792, Vol. II.

² Lindsay’s hist. p. 247.

³ David Lindsay, Elegy on the death of queen Magdalen.

1488—tive⁴. But hunting rather increased in estimation; and the grandeur of that of James V in Athole has been already described.

1542 } An act of 1535 issues particular regulations for the royal forests, woods, and parks, the *Leges Forestarum* being often eluded; those who claim hereditary offices or leases of the royal forests, are to produce the grants; and no horse, cattle, nor sheep, are to pasture within their bounds, on penalty of escheat⁵. Falconry was also a favourite pursuit of James IV and V; and the former monarch is depicted with a peregrine falcon on his fist. Lord Fleming was hunting with the hawk, when slain in 1524 by Tweedie of Drummelzier⁶. Before James V executed the Armstrongs he invited those noblemen and gentlemen of the lowlands, and highlands, who had dogs of superior breed, to a solemn hunting: the number of people assembled is estimated at twelve thousand; and the prey in the eastern parts of Galloway at eighteen score of harts, exclusive of small game killed by the hawks⁷.

The preachings, and pilgrimages, fashionable resorts of the time, were diversified with the *plays* at various places, when perhaps *mysteries* were sometimes exhibited by ecclesiastic actors. But *moralities* and *farces* now began to appear. The

* A great singularity of chivalry was the reverence still paid to the imaginary *saint graal*, or precious plate out of which Christ and his apostles ate the last supper. See the hist. de Louis XII by Auton his historiographer. Paris, 1620, 4to.

⁵ Cap. 12. An act of 1552 was to regulate the prices of game, the crane, then far from unknown in Scotland, (see Lindf. hist. 227,) at 5s: swan 5s: wild goose 2s. *claik*, *quink* and *rute*, 18d. plover and small muir fowl 4d. black cock and grey hen 6d. dozen of *pouts* 12d. *quhaip* 6d. rabbit 12d. *lapron* 2d. wood-cock 4d. dozen of larks 4d. snipe and quail 2d. The hen was at 8d. capon 12d. goose 16d. The acts of Mary and James VI continue to throw a striking, but neglected, light on manners.

⁶ Lindsay hist. 204. ⁷ Ibid. 225.

earliest French farce is L'Advocat Patelin, written about 1450, 1488— and no other is known till that of Le Prince des Sots 1511: 1542 about which latter period some appear in England. Lindsay the poet speaks of his acting farces to James V, when a boy, or about 1520⁸. His own Play, 1540, is a mixture of the farce and the *morality*.

Stewart the poet, in an address to James V, advises him to amuse himself with hunting, hawking, and archery, justing, and ches; and not to play at cards or dice except with his mother, or the chief lords, as it was a disgrace for a prince to win from men of inferior station, and his gains at any time ought to be given to his attendants⁹. Scandal was, as usual, a favourite amusement at court; and poems of Henryson and Dunbar are directed against this verbal assassination¹.

⁸ Epist. to the king prefixed to his Dream. Lesley, 375, mentions that when Albany arrived in May 1515, the citizens of Edinburgh welcomed him, “*comœdiis facetissimis, spectaculis exquisitis, ac rebus id genus ludicris*.” Among the few materials for the history of the Scottish stage may be mentioned, that in a life of St. Kentigern, inscribed to Herbert bishop of Glasgow, 1147—1164, it is said that the saint's mother had a lover “*in gestis hystrionum vocatur Ewen filius regis Ulien*.” Vitæ Sanct. Scotiæ, 203. Perhaps some hints on the mysteries, or ecclesiastic plays of the middle ages, may lurk in our chartularies, and other records.

One of the earliest dramatic writers was Hroswitha, the celebrated German nun, about the year 980. In 1501 an edition of her poems was printed at Nuremberg in folio, 82 leaves, by the Celtic society, at the head of which was Conradus Celtes, (the German tongue being then believed the Celtic;) which contains six comedies, *ad æmulationem Terentii*; 1. Gallicanus. 2. Dulcicius. 3. Callimachus. 4. Abraham. 5. Paffnucius. 6. Fides et Spes. Every comedy has a wooden print, the size of the page. This edition also contains eight poetical lives of saints, and her panegyrical history of the emperor Otho I, who died in 973.

⁹ Scot. Poems, 1770, p. 146.

¹ Ib. 136, 60, 62. Dunbar mentions, on the occasion, a saying of James IV, “Do well, and despise slander which spares none.”

A singular

1488— A singular letter of James IV is preserved, written in 1506
 1542 to the king of Denmark. It mentions that Antony Gawino,
 an earl from little Egypt, and his attendants a miserable train,
 had visited Scotland, by the command of the apostolic see; where having resided for some months, in a decent and catholic manner, he wished to pass to Denmark. James recommends him to his uncle's munificence; and adds that these wandering Egyptians must be better known to the Danish king than to himself, as Egypt is nearer to Denmark, and greater numbers of its people frequented that kingdom than Scotland. A curious specimen of the ignorance of the age²!

That the manners of the times were not a little depraved may be learned from the tale of Dunbar, called The two married women and the widow, where the fair sex in particular shew every vice of the most polished ages, without the sentiment and delicacy. And many incidents in this history will testify that the characters are far from ideal. That luxury and civilization increase the progress of vice, will appear problematic to the student of history; and at any rate they acknowledge the divinity of virtue, by a hypocritical homage to exterior decency, while in more rude ages crimes stalk about in naked deformity.

In his poetical life of Squire Meldrum, Lindsay represents his hero as supping at a lady's castle in Strathern, on venison, brawn, jelly, and comfitures; with *aqua vitæ* or brandy, wine,

² Epist. Reg. Scot. ms. Reg. 13 B. II. In 1555 Mary was to enact a statute against the rural games of Robin Hood, Little John, Abbot of Unreason, and Queen of May; and against women dancing around *summer-trees*, or may-poles. The Queen of May is mentioned in the poem of James I called Pebles to the Play. Her statute of 1552 against oaths by God's "blude, body, passion and wounds; Devil stick, cummer, gore, roist, or rieve them," shews the then prevalence of a stupid and disgusting fashion, now abandoned to banditti.

and

and ale; and the table is spread with a fine cloth of *dornick*³. 1488—
 At this period we find *bossis*, or bottles, that held half a gallon¹⁵⁴²
 each of Gascon wine; the *bread of mane* seems to have been
 enriched with spices: after a meal the table, which was only
 supported on temporary trestles, was *closed*, or laid against the
 wall⁴. The magnificence of grand entertainments may be
 judged of by the bills of fare which have reached our times⁵.

The dress of this period remains alone to be described.
 James IV, on meeting his bride at Dalkeith in August 1503,
 was clothed in a jacket of crimson velvet, bordered with cloth
 of gold; his *lewre*, apparently a kind of hood, hung behind
 his back; his beard was somewhat long, having in his haste
 forgotten to clip it close with scizzars. The visit at Newbottel
 presented him in a jacket of black velvet, bordered with crimson
 velvet, furred with white; on another he was dressed in a
 gown of tawney velvet, furred with black, and the collar of
 his fine shirt was embroidered with gold: on another, in a
 demi-gown of black velvet, furred with martin, and the rest
 of his apparel was also black. When he conveyed Margaret
 into Edinburgh, seated on horseback behind him, he appeared
 in a jacket of cloth of gold, bordered with purple velvet furred
 with black, a doublet of violet satin, scarlet hose, the collar of his
 shirt studded with precious stones and pearls, his spurs gilt and
 long. At the marriage he was dressed in a gown of white
 damask, figured with gold, and lined with farsnet, a jacket of
 crimson satin, with sleeves, and bordered with black velvet,
 under which was a doublet of cloth of gold, and his shirt was
 embroidered with gold thread; his hose scarlet, his bonnet
 black, with a rich balay or ruby, and a sword. When he ap-

³ Sc. Poems, 1792, Vol. I, p. 180.

⁴ Friars of Berwick, Maitland Poems, I, 71, 73.

⁵ See some in Arnot's hist. of Edinburgh.

1488—peared at church, two days after, his beard had been cut close
 1542 with scizzars⁶.

The dress of James V is similar, except that the doublet is brought low, so as to shew a larger portion of the shirt; and the embroidered collar is transferred from the latter to the former⁷.

To such minute descriptions of the male dress little can be added. Lindsay mentions *brodikins*, or a kind of half-boots⁸: russet hose, a shirt exquisitely wrought with the needle, a little bonnet, a hat high or flat, perfumed gloves, *scarpens*, slippers, garters knotted in a rose, a handkerchief with gold tassels at the corners, are among the ornaments of a beau⁹. To the winter dress belonged a cloke and hood, double shoes, and mittens or worsted gloves¹.

Of the dress of a lady Henryson gives an idea by mentioning, in a religious poem², the complete attire as consisting of

⁶ Young's account, Leland Coll. ut supra.

⁷ Portrait in the duke of Devonshire's possession, and others.

⁸ Hist. 173. Boots were common. ⁹ Maitland Poems, II, 183, 184.

¹ Lindsay's Papingo. The hat is known as early as the reign of James I; but was generally worn only in the country, the velvet or satin bonnet being the formal dress, through all Europe: nor was it supplanted by the hat till about the year 1600. Granger I, 221, mentions a high hat with a broad brim, as occurring in a ms. of Henry the Seventh's time; after which he finds none till the days of Fox the martyrologist. Several poems of the period now under view, mention the hat as part of the Scottish female dress. A satire, Sc. P. 1770, p. 142, represents a servant wearing a cloke tied with ribbons, a threadbare coat bordered with velvet, and girt about his waist like a woman's gown:

His hat on fyd set up for ony heft.

Douglas in his Palace of Honour, describing the court of Venus, mentions among the materials of dress, cloth of gold, velvet, damask; satin crimson, striped, figured with flowers; *damisflure*, and others.

² Garment of gude ladyis. Sc. Poems, 1770, p. 103. Lindsay's history of squire Meldrum, 184, says of a lady,

With that her kirtill was unlaiffit.

hood,

hood, shift, kirtle (or gown and petticoat) tied with laces, and 1488—
 adorned with mails or spangles, an upper gown or robe purpled 1542
 and furred and adorned with ribbons, a belt, a mantle or cloke }
 in bad weather, a hat, tippet, *patelet*, perhaps small ruff, a
 ribbon about the neck, sleeves, gloves, shoes and hose. The
 hair was long, and plaited on what was called a head-lace.³
 The farthingale, or small hoop, and long trains sweeping the
 streets, the use of veils, which had continued since the reign
 of James II in defiance of the legislature, and the golden chains
 of the ladies, are frequent objects of satire. The veil when
 thrown backward resembled a sail in the wind, the bosom
 began to be more exposed, the waist was rendered small by
 tight lacing, while a busk became necessary; and the gown of
 the belle was often raised in walking, not without coquetry to
 shew her hose of some wanton hue, while her mincing is
 likened by the old satirist to that of a bridled cat⁴. Dunbar's
 ladies have their yellow hair combed down over the shoulders
 with great nicety, kerchiefs of *crisp*, crape or lawn, green
 mantles⁵: a damsel in the story of Squire Meldrum has a
 kirtle of scarlet cloth, an enameled circlet of gold on her head,
 belt and broches adorned with silver, her shift embroidered
 with silk and gold⁶. The progress of luxury was far more
 rapid than that of industry.

³ Robert Lindsay, 201.

⁴ Maitland Poems, II, 184, 186. The Scottish farthingale, probably derived from the French or Flemings, became fashionable in England, after the union of the crowns. Its effect may be seen in lady Dalhousie's monument in the Savoy chapel.

⁵ Ibid. I, 45.

⁶ Scottish Poems, 1792, Vol. I, p. 151.

black silk, knits (or gown and petticoat) tied with laces, and 1488—
 adorned with pearls or diamonds, an upper gown or robe purified 1542
 and turned and adorned with ribbons, a belt, a mantle or cloak
 in bad weather, a hat, ribbons, gloves, shoes and hose. The
 hair was long, and plaited or what was called a head-piece.
 The farthingale, or small hoop, and long trains sweeping the
 ground, the use of veils, which had continued since the reign
 of James II in defiance of the prohibition, and the golden chains
 of the ladies, are frequent objects of satire. The veil when
 thrown backward resembled a sail in the wind, the bottom
 began to be more expanded, the waist was rendered small by
 tight lacing, while a dark become necessary; and the gown of
 the belle was often raised in walking, not without decency to
 show her hose of some warm hue, while her mincing is
 likened by the old satirist to that of a bridled cat. Bunyan's
 ladies have their yellow hair combed down over the shoulders
 with great nicety, ketchicks of curls, craps or lawn, green
 mantles; a diamond in the forehead of Spenser Melburn has a
 circle of richest cloth, an enamelled circle of gold on her head,
 belt and brooch adorned with silver, her shirt embroidered
 with silk and gold. The progress of luxury was far more
 rapid than that of industry.

Robert Lindley, 201 years old, died in 1801. The Scotch farthingale, properly derived
 from the French or Flemish, became fashionable in England, after the union
 of the crowns. Its effect may be seen in lady Dashwood's monument in the
 family chapel, to which see Lindley's *Scottish Poems*, 1792, Vol. I. p. 151.
 The farthingale, which was a small hoop, and long trains sweeping the
 ground, the use of veils, which had continued since the reign
 of James II in defiance of the prohibition, and the golden chains
 of the ladies, are frequent objects of satire. The veil when
 thrown backward resembled a sail in the wind, the bottom
 began to be more expanded, the waist was rendered small by
 tight lacing, while a dark become necessary; and the gown of
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 with silk and gold. The progress of luxury was far more
 rapid than that of industry.

APPENDIX.

N^o I. *The master of Huntley to Henry VII, perhaps 1491.*
Caligula, B. III, 19.

RICHT hee, excellande, ande mycthy prince, I comende my service one to yowr henez, in the maist humble and harty vys I cane. Ande plessit the famyne ramembir of the thresonable ande cruel flauthir of my soverane lorde and Kyng, falsly slayne be a part of his fals and untrew legis, the quhilk stude in neyr tendirnes of blude and your heniz togiddir. And becaus of my lautay and allegeans, I haif put me in divours wicht my said soverane lordis frendis, and kynnyfmen, to caus the comittars of the saide murthir to be punyft acording to justice, and the honor of our Realme. For the quhilk I, and the layf of my lords ande fallowis, maist humili beseks your grace to put to yowr hande, for the teynderness of blude that bes betuix my soverane lorde, quhom God asolye, and yowr grace, and for the honor that every anoynted prince and Kyng sould kepe tile vthers, in the punyffing of fals and tresonable trattours: and with Goddis grace, and yowr helpe, the matter falbe reullit to yowr gret honor, ande oure lautais. And forthir in all thir maters my lord of Buchquhane is informyt at lentht of al our ententts; and quhat he promittis in my name I sal fykkirly abyde therat: to quhom your grace wil gif ferme credens. The quhilke the Trinite preferue and kepe, in honor and prosperite euerlasting. At Edinburtht, the viii day off Januar, subscriwit wicht my hande.

Yours at all pou-
-ar master of Huntli.

To the Kyngs grace
of Inglande.

N^o II.

N^o II. *John Ramsay of Balmain, styling himself Lord Bothwell, to Henry VII, 8 Sept. 1496. Vespasian, C XVI, f. 152.*

SCHIR, I commend my serues humbly to your hightnes. And all this lang tyme I have remaint ȝndir respit and assurance, within the realm of Scotland, and mast in the court about the King geve attendans, and making lauboris to do your grace the best serues I can: and has full oft tymes solist the Kings hightnes, and all the weill auisit lordis of this Realme, to les the fauour and supports tha geve to this fenyt boy, and stand in amyty and gud loue, and peax, with your hightnes. To the quhilk the King in his ansuirs and wordis sayes alwayis he wald ereft, sa he myght have sic things concludit as my Lord of Duresme com for: and gyf that be nocht I onderstand without dout this instant xv day of September, the King, with all the haill peple of his realm he can mak, wilbe at Ellam Kyrk, within x myll of the Marchis of England; and Perkin and his company with hym; the quhilk ar now in noumer xiiii c of all maner of acionis; and without question has now concludit to enter within this your Realm, the xvii day of the sam monecht, in the quarrel of this said fenit boy, notwithstanding it is agains the myndis of nerrest the hall noumer of his barrons and peple, bath for the danger that thereof myght follow, and for the inconvenience of the ocaison. Notwithstanding this sempill woulfulness can not be removit out of the Kings mynd, for na persuation nor mean. I trast verraly that God will he be punyft, be your mean, for the cruell consent of the mourdir of his fadyr.

Schir, the secund day of September the King send for his lords, that war nerrest about hym, and causit tham to pas in the chambre of counfall; and thereafter callit Perkin to tham, and theie laid mony desiris to him, bath anent the restorance of the vii sherifdomis, the delivere of the Castell and town of Bervek, and also for the listing of the Kyngs arme, and for charges maid uponn him, and his cumpany, to bind him to pay 1^e thousand marks within v yers after his entre. To this askit he delay quhill the morne: and on the morn enterit he in the counfall, and touk with him Sir George Nevall, Lovud the preft, and Herron; and after lang comonyng has bound him to deliver Bervek, and to pay for the costs maid on him l. thousand marks in tua yers: and thus is this takin up in vryting.

Alsa I past to Santandre with the King; and thar saw the raffauyng of the Lord Conquersalt: and I did sa mekle that bath I red his letter and credence, the quhilks war ryght thankfully wrytten, bering in effect how the King of Franc oundirstud that thar was ingenering a
great

great appearance of Debat, betuix your hightnes and the King of Scotts, and how that he of consideracion thar of had send the Lord Conquerfalt to oundirstand the Kyngs mynd, and the occasion of the samyn quidder your grace, or the said King of Scotts, war in the falt. And because of the tendernefs of blud, and also the tender amite, he stands in with you bath, he prayit the King that he might be an onper betuix you, to set you at concord; for he understud be your writings, send be Richmond and Gyenys, that mekell of this onkyndnes movit of the party of the King of Scotts. And efter this the King past to Counfall, and tuk the lord Conquerfalt, and sheu how it was all movit on the party of England; and how he had lost sa mony shippis, sa great hershippis of Cattall on the bordors. And efter this the Lord Conquerfalt was bot right soft in the solistacion of this peax, and to myn appearance maid bot litill diligence herin, saying to my selff, efter I desirit him to mak diligence, it was no wounder that the Kyng was sterit to onkyndnes.

Fordir I have fought out of this said Lord Conquerfalt, and ounderstands werraly he has laid to the King to have this said Perkin send in to France; and he sall mak myance the King of Scotts sall have for him One hundred thousand cronis, and yet lauboris apone the samen: this I knaw for certan, to quhat pourpos I onderstand not. Bot I wait well the Lord Conquerfalt shew me, the King of France vald not the King maryt with your grace; alsa he shew me how great inquesition was maid to onderstand of Perkins byrtht, bath be the admirall and him; and than I shew him the writing I had of Meautes, and he plainly said he never understud it, bot rather throu it the contrary. And I think his cummyn hadyr hes don bot litill gud; for he and the boye ar every day in consal. Schir, tho this be prevy, and tho he be my cuntreman, I beand your servand I vil bot sheu the treucht; and fordir I sall sheu your grace of my cummyn.

Schir, I wrait how Sir George Nevill and his complices ware bonded before my Lord of Murray and me; and anon efter I gat your last writing to that effect, I eissayit the said Sir George, and he ansuerit me, that he was inclinit to be at the commandement of the King of Scotts, and gyf your grace and he agreit he sould tharin quyt him of Perkin; and now they stand in a new consort, and thus I will not shew him your writing. Bot I dout not he, and all the remanent, will repent it; bot furly in the counfall he desirit this Dyet sould be put of quhill the next somer, and that, he said me, was for the pleasure of your grace; and I ansuerit him ye karit not for his pleasure nor displeasure.

Schir, And it be not that your grace pas in agrement with the King of Scotts, as me semes ye neid litill, and your grace understood all things, I dout not the young auventurusnes of the King will bath jupert himself,

himself, the boy, and all his peple. And will your grace do apt of my sempell auvertisment, I dout not thar Journe falbe repenntit into Scotland this hundreth yer to come; and be God himself thar fall be na he in England fall mar willingly nor treuly help tharto; because I find hym sa fer out of reason, and sa litill inclinit to gudnes, bot all to trauble and crueltie, vithout his wilbe fulfillit in all poinctis; and war he ains weill snybbit, he wald be the better auisit quhill he leuit.

S^r King Edward had neuer fully the perfect love of his peple, quhill he had wer off Scotland; and he made sa gud diligence and prouision tharin, that to thys our he is lovit: and your grace may als well, and hes als gud a tyme as he had; for I tak on me the King of Scotts had not a hundred pounds, quhill now that he has cunyet his chenys, his plat, and his copburds: and thar was never pepill wars content of the King's gubernans than they ar now. Notwithstanding I have ben sa lang and desirously inclinit to the amyte, now seing the falt in the King of Scotts, I falbe als villing to do the contrar; and cumyt to a pruff thar vill mony be contrar his opunon. Thar is mony of his fadirs servants wald se a ramedy of the ded of his fadyr: yit please your grace to send me vour quhat serves or other thing I fall do, for I falbe redy to do your grace commandemente at my pouer; and now is cumyn within your Realm to await of your grace, or on quhom your grace will apoinct me. And I fall not fail, be Godds grace, in this befinis to do gud and exceptable serves, and thar falbe na prevé thing don, noudyr about the King, nor in his oft, but your Grace fall have thereof; and that that is treu and on fruit, for I have stablefit sic myans or I departit.

S^r thar is coming out of Flanders Rodyk de Lalane, with tua litill Shippis, iii^{xx} off Almans. I stud by quhen the King ressaute him, in presence of Perkin; and thus he said in Franch S^r I am cummyn her, according to my promyse, to do your hightness serves, and for non oder mans saik am I come her; for and I had not had your Letters of warrant, I had ben arresten in Flandrs, and put to great trouble for Perkin's sak. And he com not ner Perkin; and than com Perkin to him; and he salut him, and askit how his ant did; ant he said well: and he inquirit gyf he had ony letters fra her to him, and he sad he durst bring nane, bot he had to the King. And surly he has brought the King fundry pleasant things for the wer, bath for man and hors.

S^r and your grace haue a gud army on the sie ye might do a great act, for all the shipon and Inhabitants the Haven touns pass with the King beland; and thus micht all thar Navy be destroyit and havinstunis brynt.

I past in the Castell of Edinburcht, and saw the provision of ordnance, the quhilk is bot letill that is to say ii great curtaldis, that war send out of France, x falconis or litill serpentinis, xxx cart gunis of Irne

Irne with chaumeris, and xvi clos carts for spers, poudir stanis, and other stuff to ther gunis langin.

Schir, I dout na thing bot gyf thir folkis at thar entre, within iiij or v nyghts be so wery for watching, and for lak of wetallis, that tha fall call on the King to raturne hame; and thus retarning tha shall not be foughtin withall: that it wald please your grace after thar entre in England, that the folkis of Northumberland and the Byshhopreck raterit to the hed of Northumberland Westvart; and sa com Norchtvart, nought streight apou the Scotts ost, bot fydlings, quhill thar war bath elyk norcht and foucht apou tham. And than I wald thir said folllkis fallin on thar bakks; and befor thame, to encounter tham, the pouer of Yorkshir. And thus gyf thai oudyr reterit, or fled abak, tha myght not escap, bot be foughtin withall. For confidering this lang night, and the great baggage and carrags, xx^m men war als sufficient as 1^e Thousand: and thir folks behind tham wald put tham to a grettar affray than twys samony offor tham. S^r I have heard the disputacionis of my cuntremen, and thar for I vryt this claus. Fordyr the holy trinite manten your honour, and estat in eternal felicite. Written at Berwek, the viij day of Septembre.

Y^r humile Jhone
L. Bothvalle.

N^o III. *The same to the same, Sept. 1496. Vespasian C. XVI,*
p. 154.

PLEASE your graice, anent the matter that master Wyot laid to me, I haue ben besy about it; and my lord of Boughcan takis apone hym the fulfilling of it, gyf it be possible; and thinks best now in this lang nyght within his tent to enterprise the matter, for he has na wach bot the Kings apunctit to be about him; and they haue ordanit the Inglishmen and strangers to be at an oder quartar lugit, bot a few about him. I put my lord your letter, of the quhilk he was full glaid, and weill contentit.

I past to Santandrs, and commonit at lenght with the King's broder, and gaff him the cross bow. He comends his serues humly to your graice, and sayes he intendis to do your grace seruis; and will not for oight the King can do cum to this ost agains your graice. And now my lord of Murray passis our to him, gyff the King cummis to this Journay, as I dout nocht he vill, in contrair his barronis willis and all his haill peple; and my lord vill solist this young prince to cum to your graice.

Schir, I ondirstand the xxviii day of August thar com a man out of Carlell to Perkin; and efter Perkin brought hym in to the King, I remanit to onderstand the matter. I was informit secretly that this man sould haue cumyn fra Randel of Dacre, broder to the Lord Dacre, and fra the Steltonis; for Mekyll Stelton, that I her, had the conwyanc of him.

Schir, ondoutetly thir Northumbirlandmen comonys sthrevitly at dayis of meting, and at dayis secretly apoinctit betuix tham and Scottsman; and euery day throw tham thir vagabunds escapis cumyn to Perkin. And sundry vrytings cumys. And now neulings an Hatfeld, that vas vonnt duell my lord of Oxinfurd, and he tellis mony tydings.

Schir, sen it is that the King of Scotts will in no wyse be inclinait to the gud of peax nor amyte, without he haf his mynd fulfillit, efter our last comonyng with my Lord of Duresme in Bervek, I traist verraly your graice fall haue your intent, sa your sudgetts her endeavor tham well. For furly this Journay the King intends to mak is contrar the will of the haill pepill, and tha are not well apoinctit therfor; and will your grace send bot dovne chyftains, and men of autorite, to reulle, I dout not with the foks that ar her your grace fall haue the best day verk of your Inemys, that ony King of Englund had thys 1 hundred yers.

Schir,

Schir, I haue fchevin the King of Scotts this band of the erle of Deschemonds, and he will scarfly beleue it; and now I send it to your grace again be this berar.

Yours humlle Jhone
L. Bothvalle.

Nº IV. *James IV to the King of Denmark*, 1506. Ms. Reg.
13 B II.

ILLUSTRISIME, &c. Anthonius Gawino, ex parva Egypto comes, et cætera ejus comitatus, gens afflicta et miseranda, dum Christianam orbem peregrinationis studio, Apostolicæ Sedis (ut refert) jussu, suorum more peregrinans, fines nostri regni dudum advenerat, atque in fortis suæ, et miseriarum hujus populi, refugium, nos pro humanitate imploraverat ut nostros limites sibi impune adire, res cunctas, et quam habet societatem libere circumagere liceret. Impetrat facile quæ postulat miserorum hominum dura fortuna. Ita aliquot menses bene et catholice, (sic accepimus,) hic versatus, ad te, Rex et Avuncule, in Daciam transitum parat. Sed oceanum transmissurus nostras literas exoravit, quibus celsitudinem tuam horum certiore redderemus, simul et calamitatem ejus gentis Regiæ tuæ munificentiae commendaremus. Ceterum errabundæ Egypti fata, moresque, et genus, eo tibi quam nobis credimus notiora, quo Egyptus tuo regno vicinior, et major hujusmodi hominum frequentia tuo diversatur imperio. Illustrissime, &c;

N^o V. *Rude draft of a letter, Dr. West the English ambassador in Scotland to Henry VII, April 1508. Caligula, B. VIII, f. 151.*

PLEASYT your nobyll grace to vndyrstand, that from the xxii day of March I remaynnyd in Berwyk, to the xxvii day of the feyd moneth, ther abydyng for my safcondyt, for as myche as the Kyng of Scotts was ffer from Edyneyborowth at on place kallyd Wyttern in Gallowey. And so kam to Edyneyborowth the xxviii day of that moneth, and ther remanyd to the secunde day of April, whereon that I myght, notwythstandyng the quenis gret labors, and my fondye fuete, came to the feyd Kyng of Scotts presens; he was so gretly byfyd in scotting hewmys, and makyng guvn poudre: so then I was browt to the Kyngs presens. And so from that day, onto the xth day of the feyd moneth, I was anys in the day wyth hym, in declaryng my credens, so that all tyme what for inconstance I coude not well confeyue, what report myght or should be made to yowr most excellent wysdam in that behalf.

Pleasyt yowr nobyll grace to understand that, after yowr ryght herty and louing recomendacions, made to your good son, delyverance of your letters in dewe maner, and sheuyng how lovyngly yowr grace was to here and vnderstand of hys good fortunys in all hys works, to the increas of hys prosperite and honor; and that for the furtherans therof from tyme to tyme, as the caas shuld require, ye wold put to your hand of good hart of eyde and assystans. And what ampyll aliance, and bond of love and amyte shewe to hym and his issue, by the maryage, so latly takyn and made with the yong prince of Castyle. And that yowr grace hath put your sylf to myche mere peyne, and charge, to obteyne the sayd maryage and alyance, to the intent that he and hys yssue shuld in tyme to kom be parteners ther of in as large wyse as your hygnes and your issu. For thys your feyd good son thanketh yowr grace in hys most herty wyse: accomptyng hym sylf for the permyssion to be bound on to yowr grace, for myche as by the feyd maryage ye had in love and amyte, and allyd to him all suche princes to hom he was nat hertofoer semblably allyed.

SECUNDLY. When as I sheuyd, accordyng to mye instruccions, that yowr feyd sone wryt he had resseyued yowr letters, datyd at Hunworth the xiii day of January, conteynyng that contrary to the perpetuall peas, now beyng betwixt yowr grace and yowr said son, dyuers and
many

many of hys fuggetts, some of them beyng gret personags and some of them in dysfymbylyd habytys, now latly, and also dyuers and fundrey other tymis, hath passyd trowth your reame, without yowr lycens and faufconduyt, some of them also conveyng with them in secret maner the ambassadours of other princes, not beyng yowr friends. To thys yowr seyde good son, or that I myght be sufferyd ferther to procede, sent for yowr seyde letters, datyd at Hunworth the xiii day of January last passyd, interlynnyd in all suche placys as the Copy of yowr seyde letter ys. In words of non importance yowr said son styketh: and also seyeth these my fathers lettrs and yowr report agreyth nat. These following be the wery words of my fathers lettrs. " Dyuers and many " of yowr subiects, rygth gret personags, heretofore, and now of late, " contrary to the perpetuall peas and amyte, have nat only interryd " into thys owre reame, under couert maner, in abyts and aray dysfym- " myllyd, without owre lycens or fauconduyte; but also hath often " passyd and retornyd trowth the same, conveyng with them in secret " maner ambassaders of certeyn princes, wych at that season war nat " owre frends." My father wryt nat dyuers and many of my subiects, some of them beyng gret personags, and some of them in dysfymbyllyd abyts, now lattly come: but dyuers and many of my subiects, rygth gret personags, heretofore and now of late, hath passyd throwth my fathers reame, under couert maner, in habytys and aray dysfymmyllyd. And here also he demandyd what gret personages other than the archebysshop of Saint Andruis, and the Erle of Aren, hath passyd hertofore throwt my fathers reame without hys lycens: and what other prince's ambassadors, nat beyng my fathers frends, than the Duke of Gelders, hath been conveyd in secret maner, accordyng to the termes of my fathers letter. On to thys hys douth I have accordyng to my instruccions, and power wyt, made answer convenyent: how beyt the seyde Kyng of Scotts lenyth so fastly to his owne oppynyon, that herin in no wyse I kan satysfy hym. Wherfor I have sent to yowr grace the copy of yowr ii letters, as well to make to hys demande more ampyll answer, as to perceyue how lygtly in words of no importance he stykyth.

And when I seyde yowr grace toke yt some what strangly, and to hert, that yowr seyde good son shuld sey he had takyn scathe by the concludyng of the seyde amyte, the cyrcumstans gret dependents, and possybylites that appeared well regardyd and consyderyd, yowr seyde good son answeyrd, seyng that as tovyng his owne person, and the marchants of his reame they had gote therby no scathe, but honor, plesure, swyfte riches, profygth and advantage. That notwithstanding dyuers of hys subiects, vnder the confidens of the seyde amyte, hath takyn gret scathe; wyche scathe he accomptyth nat in the losse of ther goods, but the slauthers of hys nobyll men especyally of his warden slain at a day of trew: and that no redres kan be had therof,
for

or as myche as bastard Heyron was fylyd of the feyd murder ys ufferyd to be within that yowr reame ondelyueryd. And fuche scathys don thus to hys subgects he rekynyngth to redovnde to hys owne person, feyng that they be always prest and redy, at all tymys and seasonys to dy and leve in hys rygthfvll service.

And fynally in the matters of attemptats, and redres makying for the fame, wher as yowr grace thynkyth yt nat honorabyl, ne coneveyent, that princes shuld be besy or intermeddle them sylf in the redres of fuche small matters: and that yowr grace woll nat encontre your good son yowr sylf nor ther wyth, but holly remyt all fuche matters to ther wardens, with a streyt charge to make redres and ryghte Justice; the King of Scotts ys semblably myndyd for his parte: how be yt he thynkyth that parte of yowr wardens be nat of streyngth ne power to make conveyent redres. And wher as your Grace for ferther instruction of Justice hath comandyd the Lord Darcy to apoynt a day of mettyng, in all goodly hast, with the Lord Home, yowr feyd sone promysyth your grace that thys may be done with effect. And that by your gret wysdom at the said metyng ther be made such redres that here after no cause resonabyll to wryt to yowr grace any fuche thing, ffor in thys they wyll act accordyng to your commandment make redres, he shal aduertyse yow ther off. And yowr said Son thynkyth as yowr grace dothe that princes shuld nat so lygtly esteeme their amytes, that for meters of varyance betwyx ther subiects they shuld or mygth breke amytes, but redres to be made accordyngly; for lake wher of both yowr grace and he shuld then effectually put to yowr hands, nat resortyng to the letters of marke, especially in the kas of murders. For thow yt was thowth conveyent so to be don, at the fyrst makying of the feyd amyte, yet by exsperyens sythence that tyme he se well that yf the subiects on eyther syd shuld resorte to letters of marke, yt mygth be a gret occasyon of the breche of the feyd amyte. And no thyng more. And ther for he thynkyth yt conveyent and resonabyl, the princes be aduertyfyd, yf due redres be nat made. And they so aduertyfyd with owt fferther delay to se Justice executyd accordyngly. And truly in thys matters of attemptats, murders, roberys, and spoylis, and for any thyng that I have herd, or kan perceyue, yowr subiects hath iiii hurts agaynst hys one. And so have I playnly feyd: wyche I dovt nat shal duly be prouyd, at fuche tyme as yt shal fortune the feyd parties to mete. The lord Home, as I perceyved, ys sumewhat abashyd in thys matter; nevertheless they be so proud hertyd that in no wyse they woll confesse covardly ther error. yowr herm to wryt to the Kyng of Scotts, menying hym that thys feyd metyng may haue no effect accordyng to his pretendyd desyre, ther errors ther by shal appere to ther confusyon and abayshment.

THYRDLY, as towchyng the Erle of Aren; thys thyng that the Kyng of Scotts takyth gretly to hert, and all the gret men of hys reame;

reame; for thow so be the seyde Erle, contrary to the trete of perpetuall peax hath interyd in to yowr reame wythowt saufconduit, and for causes by me reherfyd deservyd punysshion; yet the Kyng of Scotts seyde that herin yowr grace hath delt very unkyndly, for as myche as the doying of the Erle was contrary to hys mynde, and other wyse than he commandyd hym. And yf ye had been hys loving father, ye shuld have sent to hym, shewyng how the Erle had dyspleyd yow, and mysforderyd hym sylf to yowr hyghtness: and so doying yf he had nat punysshyd hym accordyngly, or any of hys subiects had affter that yowr wrytting atemptyd any suche lyke thyng, that yowr grace maeth have had rygth god cause to have been myscontentyd with yowr seyde good son. And when I shewyd that yowr grace was well contentyd the seyde Erle, opon hys hoth and seale to retorne, shuld be at his liberte to kom to Scotlond, at hys plesure or ells wher; to thys the Kyng of Scotts seyde that yf the Erle make any suche othe or seale to retorne, he sal hang him at hys fyrst entre into Scotlond. He ys contentyd that ye put hym to hys ransom, or punyshe hym at yowr plesure otherwyse; but now he wyl nat be content he make anye suche wrytting or othe, for as mych as such doying shuld redounde to hys gret rebuk and dyshonor. And also that wer contrary the trete of perpetuall peax; to hys dyshonor, he seyde that shuld be, for by thys all other persons shall thynke he hath fer mysforderyd hym sylf, to do that thyng whiche shuld cause hys father thus to intret iiii kynnyfman. Thys punysshment ys also contrary to the trete of perpetuall peax, for as myche as neyther of yow may punyse any vnlesfull attempts done to yow, but ever to ask redres of the other. And also he kan nat se how he could, wyth owt hys assent, beyng hys subiect; retorne at yowr kallyng, seyng that none of his subiects may enter into yowr reame, withowt hys letters of recummendacion and yowr saufconduit. I kan nat by no menys induce hym to grant the seyde bonde and othe. Many of the nobyll men of this yowr sonys reame thynkyth that the seyde Erle of Aren ys kept wyth yow by hys owne menys. I perceyue that he wold very gladly that the Erle shuld kom. Howbeyt he ys steff herttyd, that he wyll nat make intercessyon for hys delyverance: how be yt my Lord of Murrey hath in the presens of the Kyng prayed me to wryt to yowr grace.

The ambassador of Franche, wyche hath be long with yowr grace, the Kyng of Scotts seyde sent hym word, that yf he wold wryt to hym, to dysyre yowr grace to delyver the Erle of Aren, he dowt nat but that he shuld cause hym to be delyvered. The Kyng of Scotts wolbe rygth lothe that any stranger shulde be mene betwyx yowr grace or hym. In thys thyng restyth, as I perceyue, the weyt of all.

Sir Patrick Hamylton hath nat ben tru in hys report: he hath shewyd to the Quene that the Erle hath ben well intretyd; and the contrary

contrary he hath shewyd to the Kyng his master: and that the Erle hath made no othe to retorne. The wyche reporte hath causyd the Kyng to think more unkyndnes.

FORTLY, as towchyng the ambassadors of the Duke of Gelders, the Kyng of Scotts seyth they wer nat conueyed throwth hys reame by his seruant; and that at ther retorne home he sent them to yowr grace. And myche he meruelyth, yf yowr grace toke dyspleasure therwyth, why ye dyd nat, wythowt fether delay, wrytt to hym, affer-teynnyng hym to haue don amys. And nat only in thys, but in all other thyngs, wherin yow supposyd hym to haue don amys. And yowr grace thus doying he shuld have cause to thynke ye had been hys louyng father. And yf at any tyme ye had thus don, yf then he had brokyn yowr commandment, ye shuld have had resonabyll cause of dyspleasure: and the Kyng of Scotts seyth, he wold nat have been miscontentyd, yf yt had fortunyd yowr hygnes to have takyn them prisioners, and intretyd them as ther delt with yowr subiects.

FYFTLY. As touchyng the renuyng of the olde lege betwyx Scotland and France confederyng of other with the Kyng of Scotts to breke the forseyd amyte, yowr seyde son seyth, that as long as ye be to hym louyng, kynd, and lyke hys god father, he shal neuyr breke wyth yow, nor renue the olde lege, nor do that thyng that shal or mygth dyscontent yowr grace; but at all tymys redy to leue and dy with yow, agenst all other, wer yt the Frenche, or any other. He esteemyth yowr love and dyspleasure mor than the loue or dyspleasure of all other herthly princes. And that neyther fere, nor yet posybylyte of succession, shal move or cause hym to kepe the amyte, but only loue and kyndnes on yowr parte, and his othe, seyth, and promyse, to yow mad in that behalf. Yowr seyde sone thynkyth also that ye tak hym nat as yowr sone, nor yet trustyth hym accordingly; and that yowr grace hath had mystrest, and uery ill reporte of hym, or ells ye wold neuyr have delt wyth hym so sharpley as ye have don. Natwythstandyng all thys, from hens ferth yf yowr grace be to hym as hys father, he shuld be to yow in all thyngs as yowr louyng son. He was, at komyng here, from thys poynt, and in ful mynde to renue the lege. And no for all the holle body of Scotland, as well the comyns as the nobyll men, seyth boldly that the Kyng doth to them all expresse wrong yf he renue nat thys olde lege. And all hys, the byshop of Murrey except, dayly kallyth upon hym for the same: ther be no more that stykyth in thys matter, but only the Kyng, the Quene, and the byshop of Murrey. As he seyth ther was neuyr man wers welcom into Scotland than I; for as myche as they thynk I am kom for to let the renewal of the lege betwix Scotland and France. They kepe ther matters so secret her, that the wyvys in the market knowyth euery cause of my komyng.

Myche of the kyndness that the Kyng of Scotts lokyth standyth, as neir as I kan perceyue, in the favorabyll delyvery of the Erle of Aren: thys ys the very thyng that shal cause hym nat to renew the lege. Fayn wold he have hym, how be yt hys so hede strang, that in no wyse he wylbe sen owtwardly to desyre the same. Sir Patrick hath made, as the quene sheuyd to me, reporte that the Earl hath ben very yll intrettyd: you neuer see men so craftly handyll men to the Yf I shuld nat be here at the komying of the Lord Daubeney, as yet he ys nat kom, the Kyng of Scotts wyllyd me to shew to yowr grace, that efter he hath perfygtly knowne the cause why the feyd Lord Daubeney komyth, streyt ther opou the byshop of Murrey shal kom to yow with report; wyche shal bryng to yowr grace a letter, wryttyn with the Kyngs owne hand, contenyng secrets wyche no man shal know, but he and your grace. Yt war well don, yf yt mygth please yowr grace to send to me instruccions, how the olde lege betwix Scotland and France may nat stand with the amyte, now beyng betwix yowr grace and the Kyng of Scotts: and for what consyderacions dyuers of hys counsell hath ben in conversacion with me, and seying that the feyd amytes may well stand together. (*blank*) and to do that wyche mygth retorne to yowr disspleasure, nat forsyng in maner what had kom of hym; how be yt yowr swet consyderacions in that behalf hath wonderfly molyfyd hys hert.

FYNALLY, as to your personall mettyng, the Kyng of Scotts seyth that for hymself he ys very dysyres of the same, albeyit his counsell is of contrary minde. And as for the place the Kyng of Scotts seyth he kan nat, wyth hys honor, mete yow at any other place than the borders, thynkyng that he may take conveniently affurnes of none other, but of yowr owne person. As yet I kan *

* So closes this imperfect sketch.

N^o VI. *James IV to Henry VIII, 18th July, apparently 1510.*
Caligula, B III, f. 138.

RICHT excellennt, richt hie, and mighty prince, oure Derrest Brother and Cousing, We commend Us unto yow in oure maist hartlie wise: praying yow to grant youre Letters of saufconduct in forme, as after followis contenit in this oure supplicatioun, to oure traist counsalouris, Williame erle of Eroll, Johnne prio^r of Sanctandrews, George abbot of Halyrudehouse, Maister Patrick Painter, owre Secretare, Maister Gawyne Dunbar Archidene of Sanctandrews, clerk of oure Rollis, and Maister Robert Forman, prothonotary, dene of Glasgew, and chancelar of Morraye, sauflic and surelie to cum within youre Realme of Ingland, conjunctlie or severalie, with c. horses and persons, or within, their servitouris or otheris in their companny, Scottisemen, Italiannis, or Frenchmen: and there to abyde, and depart out throuth the samyn, at their liberteis: and sa to pas and repas, be sey or be land, on horsis or on fute, with all maner of horsses, stanit or unstanit, mulis, mulatis, baggis, baggagis, coffars, boxis, bulgettis, malis, and fardalis, oppin and lokkit; gold, siluir, conyeit and unconyeit, letters clos and patent, and with all other thare necessaris, als oft as it fall like thame without any serch, arrest, or trouble, in thare persons or gudis, at ony toun, port or passage of youre said Realme, and for the space of ane year to indure according to the treux. And gif ony ane of the saidis persons happenis to do ony thing prejudicialle to yow, youre Realme, or liegis, contrar the tenor of youre said saufconduct, that the trespassoure be punyft, eftir the quantite of his offence. And the Remanent of the saidis personns, that faltis not, to enjois the hale effect of the said saufconduct, and that the samyn broken to thame; bot to remane in strenth and vigor according to this our supplicatioun, as we sal be glade to do, to youre ambassiatoris, or subditis in semblable manere, as knawis God. Quhay Richt excellennt, Richt hie, and mighty prince, oure dearest Brother and Cousing, haue yow in his proteccionn and governance. Writin under oure Signett at Edinburgh, the xviii day of July.

Yowr Brod:
James R:

N° VII. *The same to the same, 30th July, probably 1511.*
Caligula, B VI, p. 20.

RICHT Excellennt, Richt hie, and mythty prince, oure Derrest Bruther, and Cousing, We commend ws unto yow in oure maist hartlie wise. We traist it is nocht past youre remembraunce that the Reuerend fader in God, oure traist counsaloure and ambassiatoure, Androw bischop of Murray, Commendatoure of Pettynweme, and Cottyngname in your Realme of Inglaund, has past diuerss tymes of before in legacionn and message, in all grete materis that has bene laborit, tretit, and concludit, betuix vmquhile youre and oure derrest fader, quhom God affolye, and Us; quhay we perfitelie knaw luffis the obseruatioun of the perpetuall peax, and intertenyng of gude lufe and cherite betuix Us, oure Realmes, and liegis. And now we haue send him unto yow, for a final conclusioun, Reddress, and Reformacioun, to be had of all ructionns and attemptatis, done on baith the bordouris, against the nature of the perpetuall peax; and for gude Reule to be put thare-uppon in tyme to cum. Praying yow herefore, derrest bruthir and cousing, Richt effectuiislie to giff unto oure said ambassiatore and counsaloure ferme credence, as unto owre self in propir personn, in it he schewis to yow, twiching the reformacioun of the said attemptatis and ructionns; as in vthir grete maters, quhilks we haue comandit him to disclose and opin unto yow at his cummyng. Richt Excellennt, Richt hie, and mythty prince, oure derrest Bruthir and Cousing, the bleffit trinite haue yow in his haly proteccionn and governaunce. Writin under oure Signete, at oure Abbay of the haly croce beside Edinburgh, the penult. day of Julij.

Yowr brod
James R.

Directed. To the Richt Excellennt, Richt hie, and mythty prince, oure derrest bruthir and Cousing, the King of Inglaunde.

N^o VIII. *Margaret queen of Scotland to her brother Henry VIII,*
11th April 1513. Caligula B VI, 74.

RICHT Excellennt, Richt hie, and mighty Prince, oure derrest and best belovit Brothir, we commend ws unto yow in oure maist hertlie wife. Your Ambassadoure Doctoure West deliverit ws youre lovyng lettres, in quhilkis ye schew ws that quhare ye harde of oure seiknes ye tuke grete hevynes. Derrest brothir we ar greitly rejosit that we se ye have respect to oure disese, and tharfor we geve you oure hartlie thankis, and youre writing is to ws gude comfort. We cannocht beleve that, of youre mynd, or be youre command, we ar sa freindly delt with in oure faderis legacy: quharof we wald nocht have spokyn, nor writing, had nocht the doctoure now spokyn to ws of the sammyn in his credence. Oure husband knawis it is withaldin for his saik, and will recompens ws sa fer as the doctoure schew him. We ar eschamet thairwith, and wald God nevir word had bene tharof: it is nocht worth sic estimacion as is in youre diverss lettres of the sammyn. And we lak nathing; oure husband is evir the langar the better to ws, as knawis God. Quha, richt excellennt, richt hie, and mighty Prince, oure derrest and best belovit brothir, have you in governaunce. Geven under oure Signete, at oure Palace of Linlithg^m the xi day of Aprile.

Yowr lowyng Syfter,
 Margaret.

To the Richt Excellennt, richt hie, and mighty Prince, oure derrest and best belovit brothir, the King of Inglaund, &c.

Nº IX. *James IV to Henry VIII, 24th May 1513.* Caligula,
B VI, 67.

RICHT Excellennt, Richt hie, and mighty Prince, our derrest Brother and Coufing, We commend ws unto yow in oure maist hertlie maneir. Oure Brothir, the maist Cristyn King of France, has laitlie written unto ws, that he and the Catholique King of Arragone have takyn, the first day of Aprile last bipast, treuxis to indure ane haill yeir fra the conclusioun thair of, for thair Realmes on this side the montanis; as we dout nocht ye ar informit, and have the tenour of the sammyn lang or now. The copy quhair of, fend unto ws, owre herrald the berare has with him. In quhilkis the Empriour, and ye, for the part of the King of Arragone; and for oure Brothir of Francis parte, the Duc of Gilder, and we, as his Kynnismen; be expressit, geve ye and we likis to stand comprehendit at ane certane day, in the said treuxis prefixit, as is contenit in thame. Quhairapon oure Brothir of France has desirrit ws to enter in the said treuxis, geve ye enter in the sammyn. Heirfore we have fend unto yow, alswell to have knaulage geve ye entir in thir treuxis or nocht, as to have youre avise quhat ye think we fuld do for oure parte. Praying yow, geve ye accept the sammyn, to advertise ws haistely, that we may help to trete ane forder amite and peax, as we have bene ay reddy to do, for universale peax in Cristindome: and that we may caus oure traist counsalour and ambassadour, the Bischop of Murray, now in the partis beyond sey, do his uter be-fines, the forsaid treuxis pendant, for universale peax, and expedicioun agains the Infidelis. And surlie, dearest Brothir, we think mair lose is to you of youre lait admirall, quha decessit to his grete honour and laude, than the avantage micht have bene of the vynnyng of all the Franche galeis, and thair equippage. The saidis umquhile vailyeant Knichtis service, and utheris noblemen, that man on baith the sidis apperently be perist, geve weir continew, war bettir applyt apoun the Innemyis of Crist, quhairintill all Cristin men war wele warit. Praying you, dearest Brothir, to take oure writingis in gude parte, as oure mynd is; for veraly we ar sary, and als oure deereft fallow, of this lose, throu acquentance we had of his fader, that noble Knicht quha convoyt oure deereft fallow the Qwene unto ws. It will like you to haist unto ws youre mynd heirintill, and will schaw you quhat we think of thir treuxis. Richt excellent, richt hie, and mighty Prince, our dearest Broder and coufing, the blefit trinite have you in tuition.
Gevin

Gevin under our signete, at oure palace of Edinburgh, the xxiiii day
of May.

Yowr brod
James R.

To the Richt excellennt, Richt hie,
and mighty Prince, oure derrest
Brothir and Coufing, the King of Inglaund, &c.

N° X. *Gazette of the battle of Flodden, Sept. 1513.* MS.
Heralds College, London, marked 2d. M 16*.

ARTICLES envouéz aux Maistres des Postes du Roy d'Angleterre, par son serviteur †, de la fourme et maniere de bataille, d'entre le Roy d'Escoffe et Mon^r le Conte de Surrey, lieuten. dud. f^r Roy d'Angleterre, a Brankston le ix^e jour de septembre, lequel serviteur estoit a la d'bataille.

PREIMEREMENT, quant les deux armées estoient a lieue et demy, l'une de l'autre, le d'Conte de Surrey envoya Rouge Croix Poursuivant devers le d' Roy d'Escoffe, luy desirant bataille ; a quoy repondit qu'il l'atendrait la jusques au Venredi none. Le f^r de Haward, filz aîné dud. Conte de Surrey, envyron l'heure de unze heures, le ix^e jour, passa le pont de Tuissell, avant l'avantgarde et artillerie ; et le d'Conte son pere le suyvit, et passa apres, avec l'arrieregarde ; et la d.armee passée, mysdrent icelles en deux batailles, avec 11 Elles chūne bataille.

Item—a la bataille dud. Roy d'Escoffe estoit divisée en cinq batailles, et chūne bataille loing l'un de l'autre, environ unq traict d'arc ; et toute cinq estoient advances sur la bataille des Anglois, aussi loing l'une comme l'autre, en grant troupeaulx ; et partie deulx estoient en quadrans, et autres en maniere de pointe, et estoient sur le haulte d'une montagne, bien a ung quart de myle du pied de la d'montagne.

Le seigneur de Haward fist arrester subitement son avantgarde en une petite Vallee, jusques ad ce que l'arrieregarde feust joinct avec l'une des Elles de sa bataille ; a dont les deux marcherent tout en ung front, et eulx avansans a l'encontre de l'armee des d.Escoffois, lesquelz Escoffois descendirent la d'montaigne en bonne ordre, en la maniere que marchent les Allemans, sans parler, ne faire aucun bruit.

Les Contes de Huntley, Arrell, et Crafford, avec leur hoste de vii^m hommes, vindrent sur le f^r de Hawart ; et en brief ilz tournerent le doz, et furent la plus grant partie deulx tuez.

Le Roy d'Escoffe vint, avec une tresgrant puissance, sur le d'Conte de Surrey ; lequel Conte avoit a sa main gauche le filz du f^r Darcy ; et eulx deulx porterent tout le fes de ceste bataille. A laquelle bataille le d'Roy d'Escoffe fut tue dedens la longueur d'une lance du d. Conte de Surrey ; et plusieurs nobles gens y furent tuez, et nuls prins prison-

* This curious paper did not occur till after the narrative was printed.

† Howard the Admiral ? See the end.

niers des Escossois dedens les deux batailles. Et a l'heure de la bataille les Contes de Lynouxe et Argille, avec leur puissance se joingnierent a l'encontre de messire Edouard Standley, et les d'Contes et leurs gens furent contrainctz deulx metre en fuyte.

Item—Edmond Haward, second filz du Conte de Surrey, avoit avec luy mil hommes du pays de Lanqchere et Cheshire, et plusieurs autres gentilz hommes de la conté d'York. Et faisoit le d'Edmond la droicte Elle du seigneur de Haward son frere, sur lesquelz le seigneur Chambellan du Roy d'Escoffe, avec plusieurs autres s^r donnerent dedens. Maistre Gray, et Mef^r Humfrey, demourent prisonniers, et Messire Richard Harbottell tué, et le d'Edmond Haward fut trois fois abatu; et vint a son relief le seigneur Dacres avec xv^e hommes; et tellement exploicta quil mist eu fuyte les d'Escossois, et eut envyron * * des gens dud. seigneur Dacres tuez, et en la d^e bataille fut tue ung grant nombre des d'Escossois.

Item—la bataille et desconfiture commença environ de quatre a cinq heures apres disner, et la chasse continua lieue et demye, ou fut merueilleusement grant tuerie; et en eust eu dix mil tuez davantage, si les Anglois eussent este a cheval.

Item—les Escossois estoient envyron iiiii^m mille, et envyron dix mille d'eulx de tuez; et des Anglois au dessoubs de quatrescens.

Les souldiers ne prindrent pas seulement de quatre a cinq mille chevaux des d'Escossois; mais les beufz qui tiroient leur artillerie; et apres vindrent a leur pavillons, et prindrent toutes les estouffes qui estoient dedens, et tuerent plusieurs des Escossois qui les gardoient.

L'artillerie d'Escoffe et d'Engleterre a este convoyee, par l'ayde dud. s^r Dacres, au chasteau de Etal en Angleterre.

Le corps du Roy d'Escoffe a este porté a Barwycke. Il ny a guere de grans personages du royaume d'Escoffe retournez a l'ostel, fors le Chambellan d'Escoffe; et pense l'on que peu d'eulx sont demourez en vye:

Les nommes des nobles homes d'Escoffe qui estoient en la bataille avec le d' Roy d'Escoffe, dequellz on ne oit point parlez quilz soient eschappez, fors le seigneur Chambellan dud. feu Roy d'Escoffe.

Premierement

Le Roy d'Escoffe.	Le conte de Montros.
L'archevesque de saint Andrew.	Le conte de Crafford.
L'evesque des Isles.	Le conte de Argyle.
L'evesque de Ketnes.	Le conte de Lynnox.
L'abbe D'Ynchaffraye.	Le conte de Lancar*.
L'abbe de Kilweny.	Le conte de Castells.
Le conte de Huntley.	Le conte de Morton.
Le conte de Ketnes.	Le conte de Bothwell.

* Glancarn. Huntley is a mistake for Rothas.

Le conte de Arrell, conneftable. Illackeen.
 Le conte de Athell. Illac Chene.
 Le feigneur de Lowett. Jehan de Grant.
 Le feigneur de Forbes. Le Maiftre de Angwys.
 Monf. de la Mote-francois. Le Sr. de Roos.
 Le Sr. de Elvefton. Le Sr. de Sempill.
 Le Sr. de Inderby. Le Sr. de Borthwick.
 Le Sr. de Maxwell. Le Sr. de Afkil.
 Le Sr. de Sainccler. Le fecretaire du Roy d'Efcoffe.
 Le Sr. Dawiffy.
 Meflire Alexandre Setton.
 Meflire Guillē Scotte.
 Meflire Jehan Home.
 Le Sr. de Colwyn.
 Le Doyen de Glasco.
 Meflire Davy Home.
 Culbert Home de Faftcaftell.

et aultre, et par deffus ceulx cy, par le rapport de plufieurs gentilz hommes qui font prifonniers, il y a des meilleurs gentlz hommes tuez, et prins, en ung merueilleufement grant nombre.

Le nombre de l'artillerie, que le Roy d'Efcoffe perdit a la journee de Brankfton, le ix^e jour de Septembre.

Item—cinq groux courtaulx.

Item—deux colorynes.

Item—quatre fâcre de la mefme grandeur, qui eftoient au devant du navyre appellé la Roze Gallee.

Item—fix serpentynes plus grandes, et plus longues, que serpentyne que le Roy nre Sr. a.

En tout la quantiti de xvii pieces.

Lesquelles font les plus cleres, et les plus neetes, et les myeux fassonees, et avec les moindres pertuys a la touche ou l'on met le feu, et les plus belles de leur grandeur et longueur que j'ai viz oncques; et les d'courtaulx font de fort bonne taille, et neetes. Signées au deffous des choses deffus d' Thomas Sr. de Howard Admiral d'Angleterre, qui eftoit a la d'bataille avec le conte de Surrey fon pere, et menoit l'avantgarde.

N^o XI. *Thomas Lord Dacre to the Council of England, 17th May 1514. Caligula B II, 155.*

PLEAS it your good lordships to haue in remembrance, that at Grenewiche, in the moneth of Decembre was two yeares, where as the King of Scotts, of his malicious and untrew purpoffe, was aboutward to haif stollen the Town of Berwyke, My Lord Darcy wold not be Wardain of the Est and middell marchies, but upon unrefonable sommes of money be hym desyred. And for because it was a momring tyme, not plainly determyned warr, but that they laye alwey in awayte of untrouthe, as is proved by the said King of Scotts, I toke upon haunde to be Wardain of the Est and middill marchies, unto the ffeast of Estre then next ensueing; and furthir of the pes continewed at our Soueraine Lords pleasure, as in thendentes therupon made more largely doth appere. At whiche tyme, in the Kyngs Inner chambre, I maide request unto your Lordships, that yf any surmyfes were maide on me to the Kings grace, or you my lords of his most honorable counsaill, that noo credence shuld be taken therat, unto I had maide myn aunfuer, whiche your Lordships did fully promyse me.

Now I am enformed that misreporte is maide, and put in to the Kings grace, and me specifieng that, inasmuche as I am wardainn of the Marchies, and has the hole authorite in my hands undre the Kings grace, the Scotts have and daily doth distres the Kings bordours, and subgietts, without any great hurte is done again unto them. And also that diuerse metings has bene betwixt me and the Chamberlain, of which I have not advertised the Kings grace, nor you. And over that I make not so good espiall in Scotland as I might.

My Lords, fens my beyng with the King's highnes at Windesore, in Decembre last passed, I neyther trysted ne mett the Chamberlain of Scotland, save oonys in ffebruary last, that I mett hym at Coklawe upon the middill marche, at the instant desire of sundry our Souveraine lords subgietts, for the ransomyng and getting to liberte their kynnesmen and freyns, beyng presoners, lyke as I certified the Kings grace by as apperes in oone article emongs other in my lettre, dated at Morpathe in the moneth of Marche; the copie wherof my fellowe Doctor Conyers, this berer, shall shewe unto you. Affuring your Lordships that I had non othre meting with hym, ne with non othre Scot in Scotland, for non othre matier or cause, prevely or opinly, as I woll aunswere the Kings grace, and you upon my lyf, launds, and goods. And as I shall prove at any season afore the Kings highness

and you, my lords, when as ye woll commande me to com to your prefence.

My Lords, has for any intelligence, famuliarite, or kyndnesse, that is betwyxt me and the Chamberlayn, truely I know non; for in the felde of Brankston it fortuneth that I, and my freyns beyng in my hooſe and companye, met the erle of Huntley, and the Chamberlain, and encountred to gidders. Where as Sir John Home, Sir Will^m. Cokburne of Langton Knights, Cuthbert Home of Fastcaſtell, the ſon and heir of Sir John Home, the ſon and heir of Sir William Cokburn, the Son and Heir of Sir David Home, the larde of Blacater, William Carr, and thre brethren of the Bromfelds, Gentilmen, with many othur kynnesfolks, freyns, and ſeruaunts, of the ſaid Chamberlain's, were ſlayne be me, and my folks; and my Broder Philip Dacre taken preſoner, with many other my kynnesfolk, ſeruaunts, and tennants, taken and ſlayne in the ſaid battel, as is well known.

And has for any intelligence had with any Scot in Scotland, I aſſure your Lordſhips of trouthe I haue non, as ſhalbe ſufficiently proved; for they love me worſt of any Engliſheman living, be reaſon that I fande the body of the King of Scotts, ſlayne in the felde, and therof aduertised my lord of Norfolke be my writing; and therupon I brought the Corps to Berwyke, and deliuered it to my ſaid lord: at which tyme as I was intreated in my ſaid lord's prefence, be oone Langton of Berwyk, I reaporthe me to his Lordſhip, and as yit it is nat punyſhed.

And where it is thought I make not ſoo good eſpiall in Scotland, as I might doo. My Lords I aſſure your Lordſhips, that I maide the beſt eſpiall at all tymes hiddertoward, and ſhall maike in tyme to com, that I oder can or may unſenydly, and neithre ſpare for coſt ne charge. And alway, as I gatt any certain matier worthy writing, I certified the Kings highneſſe, or you, by poſt in euery behalf at lienth, as apperes more largely by the copies of the ſame lettres, whiche my ſaid fellowe has to ſhewe your Lordſhips.

My lords, there is ſoo great brutilneſſe, mutabilite, and inſtableneſſe, in the counſaill of Scotland, that truely noo man can or may truſt them, or there ſayngs and deviſes, without it be of things concluded and determind at a parliament ſeaſon, or generall counſaill of the Lords ſpirituall and temporall. Of whiche determind myndes and purpoſes, from tyme to tyme, as often as they have ſittin, and as ſere as I couthe gitt knowlege be myn eſpies, or otherwiſe, I certified the Kings grace or you, as is aforewrittin.

To have daily acombred the Kings grace, or you, in ſending up writings be poſtis of tryffills, and ſlieng tailes of noo certanty, like as I ſuppoſe other has done, to no litell coſt and charges of the Kings grace, I wold have bene loth to have done.

And

And as unto the distruction of the King's bordours and subgietts, without any great hurte done again unto them, Right harde and impossible it is for suche a poure Baron as I am, to make resistance and kepe the Kings subgietts and there goods in suretie, all along the Est, middill, and West Marchies, against the hole power of the Realme of Scotland, without great help and assistance; where as in tymes passed the Duke of Gloucestre, beyng a Kyngs Broder, and therll of Northumbrelond, with there great powers, couth not well kept them, but ever destroyed. And as my Lord of Norfolk and my Lord of Winchestre knowes that, in the last werr, when as they both laye upon the Est bordours, with the ayde and assistance of the hole marchies; what busines and payne they toke on them, and had, I doubt not they can reaporte. And over that I doubt not but your Lordships remembreth, that at my said beyng with you, I shewed you that I had no strienth ne help of men, freynds, ne tennants, within the same Est Marchies, that wold ayde and assist me to serue the Kings grace; fforasmiche as Berwyke, Bamburghshyre, and Dunstaneburghe, with Sir Roger Grey power, is in my lord Darcy haunds and reull. Alnwyke and Werkworthe, belonging to my lord of Northumberland; Elandshyre, Norhamshire, and the Greys launds, belonging my Lord of Duresme, and William Heron of Furde, now belonging to my lorde of Northumberlond, with all oder Gentilmeynys launds, and men, whiche lyes upon the said Est Marchies, woll noder ryde ne goo, ne non of them doo seruice for me, ne at my commandment in the Kings name, and your's. The inhabitants whereof gyffs me the hole blame that the King's grace sends down noo soldiours to the said bordours; ne wages to them to make resistance or invasion, without whiche they said to me they couth doo no service, like as my writing purporteth. And like as I shewed your Lordships be mouthe, wages gevin to the inhabitants there were in manner waisted and lost.

And as to the destruccion of the same Est Marchies, sens my said beyng with hys highnes last, I assure your Lordships there is not iiij^{xx} howsis, and cotags burnt, which by estimacion excels not the some and value of xl li. at the vttermost. At whiche tyme your Lordships shewed me that oder shuld my Lord Darcy come downe to be wardain of the said Est Marchies with diligence, and defend the same, or els the Kings grace and you wold provide for som other person to come downe, and be wardain; for whom I loked, and daily lokes: and the most substance of the said Matchies is sawne to the frountours of the bordour.

And as unto the state of the West and Middill Marchies, beyng drye bordours from Bownes to Hangingstane, conteignyng l. Myles in lienth, as the bordours goeth, where as euery person of horsbak or foote may ryde and enter at there pleasures. I haue soo endeavored me during this warr tyme that there is litell harme done to oder of them,

them, neither in burnyng, spoling of goods, ne otherwise; but ar fully plenysshed to the verey bordour, in as large maner as ever they were the daies of my lyffe, both in housing, sawing, and pasture. And as yit there is not burnt xx howfys within both the same Marchies, as I woll aunfuer the King's grace and you. Whiche is a metely good bounds in lienth for fiche a man as me to gouerne, reull, and kepe in fauetie, during this warr tyme without any chargies of the Kings grace.

And for oone cattell taken by the Scotts, we have takyn, won, and brought away, out of Scotland cth; and for oone shepe, ccth of a suretie. And has for Townships and housis, burnt in any of the said Est, Middill, and West Marchies, within my reull, fro the begynnyng of this warr unto this daye, aswell when as the late King of Scotts laye in the same Est Marchies, as at all othre tymes, I assure your Lordships for trouthe that I have, and has caused to be, burnt and destroyed sex tymes moo Townys and howfys, within the West and Middill Marchies of Scotland, in the same season then is done to us, as I may be trusted and as I shall evidently prove.

For the watter of Liddall, beyng xii myles of Lienth, within the Middill Marche of Scotland, whereupon was cth pleughes; the Watter of Ludder in the same Marchies, beyng vi myles of Lienth, wherupon was xl pleughes; The two Townys of Carlangriggs, with the demaynes of the same, wherupon was xl pleughes; The Watter of Ewse beyng viii myles of Lienth in the said Marchies, wherupon was vii^{xx} pleughes; The hede of the Watter of Tevyote, from Branksholme up unto Ewse Doores, within the same Marche, beyng viii myles in lienth, wherupon was iij^{xx} pleughes; The Watter of Borthuik within the same Marche, beyng in lienth viii myles, that is to sey from Borthwyke mouthe to Craikecrosse, wherupon was cth pleughes; and the Watter of Ale fro Askrige to Elmartour in the said Middilmarchies, wherupon was L. pleughes; lyes all, and euery of them, waist now, and noo corne sawne upon none of the said grounds. Whiche grounds is over and besyde the great Rode that I made in the said Middill marche, upon Martilmas day last past, the contents wherof I wrote to the Kings grace by poost.

And upon the West Marchies of Scotland, I haif burnt and destroyed the townships of Annand, Dronok, Dronokwod, Tordoff, Fyshegewghe, Stokes, Estrige, Ryelande, Blawetwood, Foulfyke, Westhill, Berghe, Rigge, Stapilton, Wodhall, Raynpatrike, Woddishill, Overbrootts, Nethirbrootts, Elistrige, Caluertsholme, Beltemmount, Hole, Kirkpatrike, Hyrdhill, Mossesyde, Stakehughe, Bromeholme, Walghopp, Walghopdale, Baggraye, Murtholme, Langhane, Grymesley, and the Watter of Esk, fro Stabulgorton downe to Cannonby, beyng vi myle in lienth. Where as there was, in all tymes passed, ccccth pleughes, and above; whiche er now clerely waisted, and noo man
duelling

duelling in any of them, at this daye; saue oonly in the Towrys of Annand, Stepill, and Walghopp. And soo I shall continewe my seruice with deligence, from tyme to tyme, to the most annoyfance of the Scotts; and neyther spare for laubor, paine, ne charge, to the vttermoſt of my litell power. Defiring your Lordships that I may com to myn aunſuer, and furthir declaracion; and prove the premisses afore the Kings grace, and you. Whereinto I am and ſhalbe redy, when ſoo ever it ſhall like you to commande me.

At Kirkofwald the xvii daye of May.

Yowrs redy att commandement,

Thomas L. Dacre.

To my ſinguler good lords, my Lord of Norfolk, my lord of Wincheſtre, my Lord of Dureſme, my lord of Lincolne, my Lord of Surrey; and other my Lords of the Kings moſt honorable Counſaill.

N^o XII. *Gawin Douglas to Adam Williamson, 21 January 1515.* Caligula B II, 291.

BROTHIR master Adam, I commend me hartly to you; and hes reffaut yowr layt wrytyng and credens fra your companyon Syr James. And be ye fuyr the Queyn, and we all, wald be glad to follow the Kyng's mind thar; and thanks hys henes als lawly as we may, of the grete enteyr luf and kyndnes, profirryt and shawyn to us, for the quhilks we beyng addettyt to be hys trew seruands befor all others, our allegans to owr fouerain lord, his nevo, only exceppyt. Ye may weyll confydder it is not to us possybyll, that ye devys; for albeyt my lord and I, with other frends, myght cum to tha parts quhan we plesyt, it shuld not be possybyll to cary the Kyng nor his broder thyddyr; throcht peradventure, and that full hard, wyth gret defyculte, and nocht honestly, we mycht bryng the queyn thyddyr, in habyt onknawyn, and dysagysyt, bot neyn othir wayes. And therfor ther man be thought sum othyr remedy, for my wyt kan not attayn quhow that may be at thys tyme. And als we be in na syk danger at we neyd leyf the cuntre. I wrat to yow layt that the Kyngs wrytyngs wald stanch all this debayt, ffor I trast thai suld be als weyll obeyt heyr, as in Lundon, with the mast parte of the lords. Lat not the Kyng spar ther foyr, that and he wald cum wyth his army, or send hys pyssans in this realm, and declar to the pepyll his actyon war to haf justyce, and gud rewll, and to caus the Kyng hys nevo, and the queyn hys fystyr be obeyt as thai autht; but cummand on thys wys, and notyfyand the samyn to our comonys, be proclamation, bot he suld fynd mony to tak hys part; for I assur yow the pepill of thys realm ar fa oppressyt for lak of justice, by thevys, rubry, and othyr extortiones, that thai wald be glaid to leyf ondyr the Gret Turk to haf justyce. Ye wryt that the Kyngs grace thar hes wryttyn twys to Roym agains Glasgw; but I had leuer he had wrytyn agains the byshop of Murray; and yit neidlyngs he man wryt againt hym all hys promotion reuerfyt, lyk as at mayr lent the quenys grace hes wryttyn to the Kyng hyr brodyr tharapon. Master Adam brodyr, foryet not to solyst and convoy weyll my promotion to Dunkelden, as ye luf me, for I haf gevyn the money quhar ye bad me. Lat se quhow ye kan convoy syk a mater for yowr frends; and I fall do mekyll bot I fall spek with yow in Lundon, or Pash; for I haf mony devyses that I wald fayn enclos to the Kyng thar, quhilks I wyll not wryte. And gif it be possybyll that ther may be found any tyme to perform the Kyngs plesure and desyr,

as

as ye haf wrytyn with Sir James, I faldø my devor, and full best, to convoy that mater at all puncts. Bot I kan not hastely beleyf as yit quhow it may be les than the Kyng wald cum hymself in this Realm. And then myght he do quhat hym lykit; for he wald fynd lytyll nor na refystance, and be the fouerain. The grettest of ovr aduersareys crynis hym gretly at thys hour, on sik wys that thai wald gyf mekyll of ther wakeand to haf hys fauors. Gif the Kyng of Frans be ded, it is ryght euyll for bath thir realmys. Bot heyr is arryvyt a Franch Ship, the xv day of thys moneth instant, quhill purports na thyng therof; and therfor, I wondyr quha fuld haf shawyn my Lords of Counsell thar syk tythyngs. Gif we had money I trast we fuld debayt weyll enewth our aduersareys in thir parts, quhill the fomyr sesson, quhen the Kyng myght moyf quhat army hym lykit; and than I trast alssø we salbe mar pyssant than we ar now. I am surly informyt furth of Frans the Duyk disponys hym not hydder, quhill thys nyxt moyn; les than thys deces of the Kyng of Frans caus hym promyn the tyme. And yit I trast the Kyng thar, and his wys counsell, hes provydyt mayr warle in all auentours, so that the Dalphyn is als weyll bund to obserue the pace, and all puncts therof, as was the Kyng. And I trast he dar not brek the trewys nor pace astablisyf, to send the ilk Duyk agayn hys oblysyng. And gif he wald lat ilk frend mak pace wyth othyr, quhill we be all reuenged on Frans for God knawys quhat thai haf donn to us. I haf gud hope, and is in convoying a mater of dyscord amang our party aduersarey, on sik wys that I trast ye fall heyr quhow this promocion, now impretat be yon dyssatfull byshep of Murray, fall turn to our weyll and caus bayt hym and yon Duyk cum in euill consyft ouer all thys realm; quhill man aways redound to our profyte, and fall purches us ma frends. And I dred not bot quhasaeuer be Kyng in Frans he salbe mayr glad to haf pace and amite wyth the Kyng of England, than hys grace salbe to except the samyn. I pray yow shaw thys wrytyng to my Lord Dacre, and the contents therof to the Kyngs grace. God keyp yow. With my hand in hast at Perth, the xxi day of January.

Tuus totus Gavinus
Douglas.

To his trast frend,
Master Adam Wyllyamson.

N^o XIII. *Alexander Lord Home to Dacre, 24th August 1515.*

Caligula B II, 151.

MY Lord, I commend me to you in my mast hartlie manner. Quham it ples to wyt that the lords has sett upon the maters concernyng me sen thar cumyng to Edinburgh, and thys Dwk wyll not be content with me be na way, bot giff I wald depart aut of Scotland without eny condycion. And he has grat the quhen's grace wryt to hyr brodyr, that she is well content (and agan hyr wyll) and schow has send me word tharof thys fryday, and says that the man woll depart with thar wryt incontinent, and bad me send yow word tharof.

My Lord, thar is na remed for me bot gyff Ingland help now; and gyff ye woll [na] help in tym, quhill I ma help myself, it woll do me na gud. And quhat I may be seker of, I pray yow send me word incontinent with thys berar; for and ye brek not up the weyr, and in tym, I am lekly to be dystrowyt; ffor thai hayff given me fayr words, and all is bot to dyffayff me. My Lord the Byschop of Glasqow belewis to met with yow the last day of thys moneeth, as is schawn me. And as your L. thinks in all maters, I pray speid thys bearar to me. And God hayff yowr L. in his kippin. Wryt at the Newark, this fryday; and gyff I schall kep skast* thys day viii days, send me word.

Your's, Alexr. Hom.

Gyff euer yowr master wald
tak hys tym of Scotland,
now or never.

(Indorsed) Received by Thomas Lord Dacre on Setterday in the mornyng, the xxv day of Aug: by thands of Peter Raa, seruant to the Lord Home wythyn wryttyn.

* traff?

N^o XIV.

N^o XIV. *Margaret to Dacre, 20 Sept. 1517.* Caligula B I, f. 239.

MY Lorde Dakers, I comānd me hartly to you; and vyt ye that I have reffayved your vryteng fram Myhuel Nykowl and Cutbart Armeſtrang, and onderſtand it at length. And whare ye marwel, my Lorde, of my vryteng for George Home, and the Pryor of Coldyngam, I vaſe deſyrd to vryt to you, as I dyd ſchave you in my vryteng, and as thay thowt, and I dyd bot afxe your conſell, yf it waſe beſte to doo, for thay coude have done me noo profet, and I belefyd ye would have had them helpyt. And as long as Delabaty was lyfeng thay myght not have gotyn no favor here. And as towchyng to the pees, that vaſs concludyd at my comyng now into Scotland, betvxt the Kyng my brother and the Kyng my ſoon, tyll Saynttandrofs day next comyng, I know it vell: bot I traſtyd that it ſtode as I vaſſe intretyd into Scotland, and awnſuerd of my conjavfeſment; for I thynke the dwke, nor the rawlme, ſchuld not have pees vyth the Kyng my Brother, and I be not vell intretyd: for it vyll not be hys honowr, confideryng that I am hys ſyſter, and he made the vay now betwxt the Dwke and the Lordes, and me, and that I ſchuld be don to lyke hys ſyſter. Vhareof I have vryten to you at length, how I have bene aunſurde ſyn my comyng. And vhare ye vrit, my Lorde, of further comyneſacyon of the pees, be the deſſyre and requeſt of the Frence Kyng; my Lorde, the Kyng my brother, and my Lorde Cardnall, both promyſed me that there ſchuld nowht be no pees betuxt Ingland and Scotland contynud, tyll that I knw it forſt, that I myght rather get thankes of the Lordes and the raume, than the Dwke; and that I would not be ſet by ſoo myſche, and it var othervayſe; and that vaſe my ſpecial truſte. And now Carter is comyn too Edynbroug, and ſayth that the pes is continuyd for two yerys, betwixt the Kyng my Brother and my ſoon; vhareof I pray you my Lorde that I may know the trowht, and the manor how it is; for all the Comfort that I have is in the Kyng my Brother, and in hys helpe. And as touchyng to my Lord of Awngufs, that ye would not that he toke a lyht vay wyth the Larde of Vedyrborne, vythowt there vare ſoom gret Lord that valde take hys part, ſoo that he and thay vould take on hand to governe the rewme, and to have the kypen of the Kyng my ſoon; it is bot ſchort vhye ſyn thys vaſe doon; and my Lorde and I have not ſpokyn bot wyth few frendes as yet, vharfor I kan not ſay no thyng, vhye I know forther of thayr mynde. And as for my Lorde, he ſchal not take no parte, bot for to make good rewl in the contre, both he and hys frends, ſoo that thay wyl gyfe hym the

autoryte; for it muste be a gret man that moſte do it, and I thynke there ſchuld not be non aſoor hym, conſyryng I have maryd hym. And I knaw vell yf the Kyng my brother vould make noo vay wyth the Duke, by me, and thai ovr frendes myght be ſure of it, vee vould be the gretar parte. Bot thay have ſoo gret dred that, and thay ſchulde take ovr playn part, and than the Duke ſchuld be ſoferde to com agayn into Scotland, and than thay vyft not vhare to have refuge. For and the Kyng my brother be not contentyd that he ſchuld com, the France Kyng dwrſte nowht ſende hym. And thys makyth me to lake mony hartys, that vould make me ſarves. All the helpe is in the begyneng; vhare for I pray you, my Lorde Dakers, to helpe to labor a good vay vyth the Kyng for me, that I may be ſure of, and my frendes; and I ſchall doo my part here to get frendes; prayeing you to ſend me your mynde agayn, that I may doo ther after. As for my wryteng to the Kyng my brother, I had no layſer yet to vrycht it, bot I ſchal ſpede it to you agaynſt that I have awnſuer from you: prayeng you to ſend me a ſarvant of youre awne, that I may ſende my vryteng wyth: and God kyp you. At the Newerke, apon Saynt Mathes ewene.

Your frend

Margaret R.

To my Lorde Dakers.

N^o XV. *The same to the same, 11 March, 1522.* Caligula
B VI, f. 232.

MY Lord Dakare, I command me hartly to you: and vyt ye, that I have refayved your vryteng, and sene the artikles, and ondarstandys them at length. Vysche ar ryght scharpe, and specyaly at the endyng of them, vharein, in a part, I have schawn my mynde at length to thys berar, be cause it var ovr longe to vryt; bot in part I vol make you answar in this my vryteng.

My Lord, as to me to send to the King's Grace, my brothar, for my matars, befoor the takyng of the pees betwxt the Kyngs Grace my brothar, and thys rawlme, ane that my matars may be sen for, and that I may be answard and obayd of my lyfeng in that pownt, I shal send a sarvand of myne declaryng the weryte, how I have bene intretyd sen my last comyng into Scotland. Vysche I have vryten of befoor at length to the King's Grace my brother, and to you; howbeyt I gat no remedy. And the last pees that vafe takyn, vas done vythowt me, or ony way made for me; bot a general fayr vord, vysche dyd me lytel profet. For thys raulme vol set lytel be me, gyfe thay may get the pees vythowt me, or my request: vysche it is more with the Kyng's Grace honowr to do it for my sake, and at my request, confyderyng I am modar to the Kyng of thys rawlme.

Allso, my Lord, I com at the desyre of the Kyng's Grace my brothar, sent to me be frear Henry Jedward, vische sayd mony good vordys to me, on the Kyng my brothar commandment, and that thare schuld not no pees takyn bot at my request. And mare I com to my Lord of Angus, aigaynst all the Lordys of Scotlandys vollys, traftyng to have had helpe of the Kyng's Grace my brother, to have borne forth my good qwarele; for it vas ovr nyche tame to stryfe agayns all the rawlme, confyderyn how it standys betwixt my Lord of Angus and the Lordys, and they not agreed.

My Lord, as to my Lord of Angus, gyf he had desyrd my company, or my loff, he vald have schawn hym moore kyndly than he hath don. For now of layt, whan I com to Edynbrowch to hym, he toke my howces vyth owt my consent, and vythhaldyd my lyfeng fre me; vysche he schuld not do of reson: nor that is not the vay to desyre my good vol. And I to have takyn both gret dysplefur of Scotland, and trobyl, and had no helpe of the Kyngs Grace my brother, nor no luf of my Lord of Angus, and he to take my lyfeng at hys plefur, and dyspon it, me thynke, my Lord, ye schuld not thynke thys resonabyl, gyfe ye be my frynde, as I traft ye be.

My

My Lord ye remembar, at my comyng to Edynbrow, I dyd vryt at length to you, how the Lordys of Scotland dyd to my Lord of Angus; and that vythowt I had gotyn helpe of the Kyngs Grace my Brother, I might not bere owt owr port; for on the on syde the Vestland Lords and my Lord of Angus was forth; and the tothar Lordys was rycht scharpe apon hym. And I desyrd to know what helpe I myght troste to, and ye vrot to me agayn bot lychtly, that the Kyng my Brother vald do for me, in general vordis; bot it most be the dede that vyl helpe me.

My Lord, as to the tothar pownt, that I bere soo good mynde to the Dwke of Albany, as ye say; and that he gyfes me bot fayr wordys, to put the blame of hym, that I am not answard of my lyffeng.

My Lord, as to that pounct, I beleffe not hys fayr vordys, bot as he hath don to me in dede; var not the kyndnes that he hath schawne to me, both of hys awne mwnne gyfen to me, and causyd the Lordys to furnych me of the redyest of the Kyng my soon's, I vold haf bene constrayned to haf put away my Jowels, an Coburd; and thys I dyd vryt to you befoor. My Lord, I trost the Kyng's Grace, my brothar, vol confydar me as I that am hys systar: that I moste bere good mynde whare I fynd good ded: for as I fynd I most schaw. And I trost hys Grace vol lose hym the betar, that he doth for me. And I can not porfise bot that the Dwke of Albany may doo the Kyng's Grace, my Brother, as mosche sted in thys rawlme, and moore than ony othar: vysche I knaw vel his Grace may have ony vay that he plesys of hym.

Also, my Lord, whare that ye speke of the kypeng of the Kyng my soon, and that the Lordys that ar abowht hym is of the Dwkys putyng; my Lord, it is knawn contrary that the Lordys put them abowt the Kyng my soon. And I vayt viel thay losse the Kyng my soon, as viell as ony in thys rawlme. And thay var put to hym or I com last in Scotland, as ye know. As for other pwntys, partanyng to the Duke, lat hym answar for hymselfe: bot as for the Erldom of Marche, he makes me no trobyl as yet.

My Lord Dakars, ye schuld not gyfe so lychtly kreden to ewel talys of me, as ye doo, whol ye knu the trowth, fopos ye bere gret favor to my Lord of Angus, as I se ye doo; howbeit I have sene it als far otharways. I most cast me to ples thys rawlme, sen I have my lyfeng here, and few fryndys but throw my good beryng. Vharefor thay schal have no cause of reson to holde my lyfeng fra me: and I thynke the Kyng's Grace schuld helpe me the betor. Also whare ye say that I com owt of Edynbrow, in the nyght; that was not: for all the Lordys knu of my comyng away; and I saw no good for me to byde apon thare.

And

And vhere ye fay that I am rewlyd be the cownfel, that vol never do me good, nor honowr; my Lord, I dyd never dyshonor to myself, nor them that I am com of: nor me thynke ye schuld not kyfe credens to that of me, both for the Kyng's Grace my brother's sake, and the Kyng my father, who fowl God pardon. And I have made you betar cause, nor my Lord of Angus hath don, or ony of hys. Bot I know vel the Byschope of Dwnkeld consel, when he vafs vyth yow now latly; wysche hath causyd you to vryt so scharply.

And as towchyng to Syr James Hamylton, I myght not lat hym to ryd on the vay; bot he convoyd me not. It wafs othar Lordys that browght me to Lytgo, as hys known.

My Lord, allso ye vryt ryght scharply to me, in your last Artykel, sayeng that I do dyshonor to myselfe, that bydyth from my Lord of Angus; and that I folow them that vol be my distrokcyon, and can not stand vyth the plesur of the Kyng's Grace my Brothar; and that I may not loke for ony fawor at the Kyng's Grace my Brothars hand, for it is thowt that I am fair abusyd, oundar collour of fayr promysfes, wysche schuld bryng me to the dysplesur of God, and my dysshonor, and ondoynge, at length.

My Lord, thys is soor vordys, and onkyndly. If thys be the Kyng my Brothars mynde, I being hys systar, that ewel and falsse folke schal make syche raport of me, and so lyghtly kredence to be gyffen to the sam, it is ryght heffy to me; and I may thynke it strancge that my Lord of Angus may make the Kyng my Brothar so dysplesyd at me, wythout ony fawt makynge, as schal be viel known. Vharefor it is no marwel sopus othars be onkyndly, consyderyng that I toke my Lord of Angus, agaynst all Scotland's vyl, and dod hym the honowr that I coud: vhere throw I losst the kypeng of my soone, my hows of Styrl yng, my rewl of the rawlm, wysche I had be ryght, that myght not have bene takyn from me: and all thys for hys sake. And now hymselfe hath schawne hym as onkyndly to me as is posybyl, wysche all the rawlme knows; haldyn my lyfeng from me, as far as he may: and abof all thyng he spake opynly dyshonor of me, wysche is no tokyn of lose; and I dyd nothar dysplesur, nor dyshonor, to hym, as is viel kend.

My Lord, thys not a good vay that fuld cause me to com to my Lord of Angus; sen I toke hym at myne awne plesur, I vol not be bofityd to take hym now. And thus I mozte do the best I may to get my fryndes, sen hys Grace, that I trosfityd most in, may be put by me, vythowt faut; wysche I schal never make to hys Grace, as I schal vryt at length to hym vyth a farvand of myne.

My Lord, I vold have trofityd that ye vold erar have helpyd me at the Kyng's Grace my brother's hand, than to have hyndard me. Ye
most

most hold me excusyd that I vryt so playnly, for ye have vryten
 scharply to me. Ne mare at thys tyme; bot God kype you. Vryten
 at Styrllyn, the xi day of March.

Your Frynd,
 Margaret R.

N° XVI. *Engagement by the Lords to the Queen, 30 July, 1524.* Caligula, B VI, 378.

Apud Edinburgh, penultimo Julij, anno Domini Millimo, quin.^{mo} xxiiii.

WE Lords underwritin, understandand the departing and cumin of our Soveraine the Kyng's Grace, furth of Striveling to Edinburgh, is for the gud and weil of his maist noble person, and comoun weil of his realme; q^{lk} we grant, ratifie, and affirmis. And therefore, be thir presents, fayth, and treucht, in our bodeis oblisch ws, and ilkane of ws, that we fall, in all tymes cumin, be leil, trew, and obedient servands to our said soveraine Lord: and sal tak his afald plane defense, and substanciaie part, agains all utheris, with our kyne frends, partakars, and substance, at our utmost power, in all our said soveraine Lord's actions, and causses: and in speciale in using of his auctorite be himself, and utheris in his name to be deput therto, in tyme cumin. And that notwithstanding ony promises, or bands, maid be ws, or ony of ws, to John Duk of Albanye, or ony utheris in the contrair. Quhilks all and findry bands, and promitts, and in speciale maid to the said Duk, be thir presentis, for certane resnable considerations moving wswad of our said soveraine Lord, and commonweale forsaide, we reuok, cals, and adnullis, for now and ever. And presentlie we revok, cals, and adnullis all power, auctorite, and governance, of the said John Duk of Albanye; swa that notwithstanding the semmyn, our saide soveraine Lord may use his awne autorite, and haif fre administration therof in all tymes cumin, as said is. And we in our Soveraine lord's next Parliament sal, with solempnities requirit, revok, cals, and adnull, the power, governance, and auctorite of the said Duke of Albanye; and in the best forme appreif, mak, and ratifie, all the premisses. And sal now constantly to the premisses, to be extendit in the best and largest form, append our propir felis, with subscriptions of our hands. And to the observing and fulfilling of the premisses, in every point thereof, we oblisch ws, and ilkane of ws, as said is: and under the pains, with spirituale men of tynsale of our benefices; and temporall men of our heritages; and under the pains of perjure, and perpetuale diffamation. In witnes herof we haif subscrivit thir presentis with our hands, day, yar, an place forsaidis.

Bp of Galloway, and of	Margaret R.
our Souveren Lords Chapel.	James Erl of Arran.
R. Rofs.	Jhon Erl of Levenax.
G. Postularius Glasquen.	Erl of Craufurd.

APPENDIX.

R. de Pasleto.

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Johannes Cantaley Arched. S. And.

Mark Kar of Littledean.

Nychol Craufurd.

Erl of Morton.

Erl of Cassalis.

.

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Hugh Bothuik.

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Auandal.

Wylyem Master of Glencairn.

. Bogan.

Mr. Francis Borwick.

Wilem of Strettyng.

Andrew Stuart, Controller.

In the Notarial Copy of this Engagement, B VI, 332, when two days afterwards it was formally signed, and sealed, the signatures are as follow.

Margaret R.

Jacobus Cancellarius

D. Bischof of Galloway and of
our Soueraigne Lord's Chapell.

Robertus. Rofs. epus.

G. Sancte crucis Abbas

Alexr. Abbas de Scona

Robr. Abbas de Pasleto

Gavinus postulat. Glasguen.

Alexr. Abbas de Cambuskynnect

Thomas De Culros

Decanus Glasguen.

Secretarius

Johannes Abbas de Jedburgh

G. Lord Sanctiohanys.

James Erle of Arrane

Johnne Erle of Levenax

Erle of Craufurd

James Erle of Murray

Erle of Mortoun

Erle of Cassillis

Johnne Lord Erskyn

Johnne Lord Flemyng

William Lord Borthuik

Alexr. Lord Levingstoun

Lord Avandaile

William Master of Glencarne

William Master of Ruthwan

Johnne Lindefay of Peteruwy Knycht

William Scott of Balwery Knycht

Johnne Striveling of Keir Knycht

St. Petir Crechtoun of Naughtan Knycht

Patrik Houstoun of that Ilk Knycht

Alexander Touris of Innerleyth Knycht

Mark Ker of Dolphingtoun

Jacobus Wischart Clericus Justiciarie

Master Francis Bothuale Provost of Edr.

Nychole Craufurd of Oxingang.

Maister Adam of Othirburn of Auldham

David Lyndefay of Edzell Knycht

James Preston Baillie of Edr.

Edward Litile Dene of Gild of Edr.

Alexander Nauthane Thesaurer of Edr.

Edward Kyncaid

Master James Haliburtoun.

Hec est vera copia principalium superscriptarum litere * obligationis, et subscriptionum manualium predictorum dominorum, eorundem sigillis vallat. et sigillat. fideliter copiat. et collacionat. per nos Notarios infra scriptos, apud Edinburgh, quinto die mensis Augusti, Anno Domini Millesimo quingentesimo vicesimo quarto, Indictione duode-

* Sic.

cima,

cima, Pontificatus Sanctissimi Domini nostri Clementis septimi anno primo; et regni excellentissimi Principis nostri Jacobi quinti, Scotorum Regis illustrissimi, anno undecimo.

Ita est. Thomas Hammiltoun, Apostolica Auctoritate:
Notarius publicus manu propria.

Ita est. Alexander Young Notarius Publicus*.

* This formal Agreement is only dated at the end thus, "In witness of the quhill thing to thir present lettres, subscrivit with our hands, we have tohungin our propir felis, At Edinburgh the first day of the moneth of August, the year of God Ane thousand, fyf hundreth, and twenty four yeris."

On a more close inspection JACOBUS CANCELLARIUS is in the original, not in the position of that in the Notarial Copy, but in the middle under that of Margaret. It was in parliament that he opposed the measure, and refused his signature to the public act.

Thobias of Melrose and Domalmingh boith breder, and Nephews to the said Archbishop be sayn; as is a grette frende and Comyns of his the lord of Kere, Capetane of Stirling; with many other his kinnmen, and seruaunts. Soe that howebeit it is howe the said Archbishop shall compe and convey for his parte; for I canne not noote any oon parton in Scotland, nowe that theie of Lannex is sayn, and the other taken, that is able or well encounter with the Fries of Anguillie and Arden; whole powers and strengthes extends from the Brigg of Stirling to theie and myddle marches. And as the cate standeth, thei be many frends comforted with thair favours, and devotion to the said Erie of Anguillie. Soe that nowe, after my poor mynde, good it shalbe be, that the yong king shalbe be counsailed to avoid all tynple and synfull counsaill, and to lean with his good and gracious favours to the oppynions of the said twoe Fries, being the grette men of power and friendship in all Scotlande, and mooste meete to doe unto his said grace true and faithfull servys, notwithstanding any letters written by his grace aysent theie of Anguillie to the contrary.

N^o XVII. *Dr. Magnus to Cardinal Wolfey, 13 Sept. 1526.*

Caligula B II, 107.

PLEAS it your Grace to be aduertised, that in my laste lettres, amonggs other thinggs, I wrote unto your said Grace, declaring as thenne myne oppynnyon was what damage and daunger was likly to ensewe to therle of Angwyshe, and howe there was noon assuraunce to be nooted in th erle of Arren. It mooved me foe to write, by cause the said Erle of Arren being afore an extreme enemy to th erle of Anguyshe, was newly reconciled: and also his proceedinggs afore in many causes have not gretely been to be nooted to his honor. Howe be it, as every thing hath comen to passe, his acts nowe doe shewe the true effecte and experience of his parte, booth towards his prince, and his kynnesman th erle of Anguyshe. By reason whereof, after my poor oppynnyon, ther is suche a knot knytte betwene the saide twoe Erles, confidering they were thoroughly accoorded of late, for the dedely ffede that was betwene thaym for the deth of Sir Patrick Hamylton, that I fee noe way howe the said knotte shulde nowe be dissolved by any grete personnage in Scottelande: oonles it shulde be by the compasing of tharchebusshop of Saint Andrewes, whose practises at this tyme have comen to the deth and distruction of his kynnesmen, and nigh frendes: and as I am infourmed to his noe litle perell and daungier at this tyme.

Thabbotts of Melrose and Domfarmeling booth, breder, and Nephewes to the said Archebusshop be slayn; as is a grete frende and Counsaillor of his, the lorde of Kere, Capitaine of Starling; with many other his kinnesmen, and servants. Soe that douteful it is howe the said Archebusshop shall compase and convey for his partie; for I canne not noote any oon parson in Scotteland, nowe that therle of Lenneux is slayn, and the other taken, that is able or woll encounter with the Erles of Anguyshe and Arren; whose powers and strengthes extende from the Brigge of Starling to theste and myddle marches. And as the case standeth, ther be many friends conformed with thair favors, and devocion to the said Erle of Anguyshe. So that nowe, after my poor mynde, good it shulde be, that the yong king shulde be counsailed to avoid all symple and synister counsaill, and to lean with his good and gracious favors to the oppynnyons of the said twoe Erles, being the gretteste men of power and frendeship in all Scottelande, and mooste meete to doe unto his said grace true and faithfull serves, notwithstanding any letters written by his grace ayenst therle of Anguyshe to the contrary.

Mencion

Mencion is made that James Stewarde, and William Stewarde, breder to the Lorde Evendale, be booth slayn. Thay were speciall servants to the Quene's grace, and breder to Harry Stewarde that attendeth upon her said grace.

I humbly beseeche your said grace to pardon me of this my writing; it is but oonly to make playn some parte of the letter, sent unto me from Sir Christopher Dacre, and to shewe my poorest oppynnyon as I conceive, concernyng the affaires and causes of Scottelande.

Hit pleased your grace, at my departing frome the same, to commaunde me to write to my Lorde of Combrelande, shewing that your grace desired his Lordship to be good to Sir Christopher Dacre, touchinge a ffarmehoolde in those parts. I wroote to my said Lorde as effectually as I couth; and declared howe thankfully his doing for the said Sir Christofer shulde be accept by your said grace; but as it appereth by the said Sir Christofers letter there commeth noon effecte of my writing.

Contynually I call and labor for the reformation of the grete charge of this houshoolde, and to reduce the same to be orderd according to the Revenues, wherynne I have some busynes, nevertheles I shall ap- plye me as well as I canne to youre gracious commaundement. And after en ordor taken for putting the Commissions, lately sent into these parties, in due execution, as canne and may be, the time of the yer considered. And our sitting at York now at Michelmas next for ministring of justice, ended, I purpoose soon after to see all my Lorde of Richmounts Lordships, in these north partes, by the grace of God: whoe evermoor have youe, my good and gracious Lorde, in his mooste blessed preservacion and governance. At Shereiff hooton the xiiith day of Septembre.

Immediately upon the making of this my letter, my Lorde of Rich- mounts grace, hering that I sent unto your grace at this tyme, in- stauntely required me to recommaunde hym unto your said grace, be- seeching you of your blessing.

Your mooste humble
preiste and bedeman.

T. Magnus.

My lorde Legate's grace.

N^o XVIII. *Sir Christopher Dacre to Lord Dacre, 2 Dec.*

1526. Caligula B VI, 420.

MY Lorde, whereas I did write unto youe, with your servaunt John Moore, of the meating of the Erle of Angus, upon Weddnisdaye and Thuresdaye, the xxviiith and xxix of November, at Caldstreame and Ridaneburne, as ye may fordour perceyve by the said Erle's writing, whiche I did sende youe with your said servaunt. The said Erle keped nowder of the saide dayes; but has appointed to mete at the said place the xiii and xiiii daye of this moneth, having litell trust that he will kepe the said dayes. Albeit I shall gif attendaunce of the same, for the wele and furtie of the borders. My Lorde, your servaunt Gares, who has remaned in Edinburghe all the parliament tyme, come hidre to me on fridaye last. The said parliament beganne the xiith daye of November; and contynued to the xxvii daye of the same moneth: and has contynued the said parliament, with all the summons of the three estates, unto the viiith daye of January next comyng: and so all is departed of the towne for this tyme.

The Quene come to Edinburghe upon Tewisdaye the xxth day of November. The King, and all the Lordes, mete her two myles without Edinburghe, at Corstorphyne; and with her but a small companye. And so the King and the Quene, com rideing downe togidres, throughe the Towne, to the Palice. The Quene lyes in the Chambre where that the Duke laye; and the King lyes in the Chambre above her; all in a lodgeng. The King is amynded not to lye farr from her: nor he will never be frome her, excepte he be owder hunting or sportyng. The Erle of Cascilles, and the Lorde Avendale, whiche as appered not, is in the handes of the Erle of Arran: and Sir James Hamylton, with all the Lordes and Lardes of the West parties, that was on the partie of the Erle of Lennox, to fyne, and ransome at there pleasyr.

The Lord Lynzey, and his landes, is in the handes of my Lord of Angus, and George Douglas; with all the Lords and Lardes of the este and North parties, as was on the felde with the said Erle of Levenax, to raunfom and fyne at there pleasyr.

The Larde of Kere' landes is forfeited, and geven to George Douglas. Rynyane Creghton is forfeite, and geven to the Larde of Dumlangrig; and the said Rynyane is restored again, and agreed with the said Larde of Dumlangrig, and was in Edinburghe.

The

The Larde of Bukcleugh has a respecte, and not forfeite; and will get his pece, and was in Lithqno both Sondaye, Mondaye, and Tewisdaye last, whiche is grete displeasure to the Carres.

The Busshop of Sancte Androwes and they ar wele agreed: and so he may com to the Courte and he will: but he will not com there unto he see the Courte changed of another fashone. The said Busshop has releeffed and geven to th'erle of Arrain the Abbey of Kilwynnyng; and so the said Erle is gone to entre, and take deliverance of the same. He has geven to th'erle of Angussh two thousand marcs Scotts; to George Douglas a thousand marcs Scotis; to Archibald Douglas a thousand marcs Scotis; and he has also geven to Sir James Hamylton a thousand marcs Scotis.

The Abbot of Arboroeth, whiche is Kynnesman to the Busshop of Saint Androwes, has lyne all this Parliament tyme in Edinburghe, for the fulfilling of this aggreement.

Drurye, a monke of Minouse Abbey, has gotten the bulles of the same Abbey at Rome, and caused them to be proclaimed; whiche has done grete displeasure to my Lorde Maxwell, for it will put his broder from the same by all likely hede, notwithstanding the King and the Lordes at this Parliament has inacted that no Scotisman shall purchase no benefice at the Poppes hande, except that they have licence of the King, and the Lordes of the Counsaile.

Therle of Arguyle, th'erle of Crawfurth, nowder of them com at this Parliament, but did kepe them out.

Also th'ordering of good justice, there is noon done in all Scotland; for the Larde of Langhenbarr, who slew the Larde of Bondbye in Sainte Guyles Kirke dore, does go up and downe all this Parliament tyme, at his pleasure, in Edinburghe, without any maner of correction or punishment.

It is thought, and oppenlye spoken all this parliament tyme, that if the Quene do remane with the King, that the Courte wil have a tourne; for the King has noon affection, nowder to th'erle of Angussh, nor therle of Arrain.

My Lorde, as in your owne causes I can advertishe your Lordship of no thing therof, but within breif tyme, astur that I com into the contrey, your Lordship shall be advertished of every thing at lenth. And as in all oder affayres of Scotland, your Lordship may be advertised by your servant Gares this berer. And the blissed Trinite preserve your good Lordship. At the Castell of Norham upon Twedde, the ii daye of December.

Your frende,

Crystofer Dacre.

My Lorde, I besuche your Lordship to speke with Maister Chaunceller for som amendmend of this housse; for of my fedelite ther is never a Chambre but it doys rayne in it, Hall, Kitching, in ne oder like, as your fervaunt this berer can shewe youe.

To my Lord Dacre his good Lordship.

N^o XIX. *William Lord Dacre to Cardinal Wolsey, 18 July 1528.* Caligula B. I, 17.

PLEAS it your Grace to be advertised that, sens my repare in these North parties, and upon the knowlege had of the subdeigne exchange of th'affairs of Scotland, I sent a servant of myne to Edinburghe; who laye ther the space of x dayes, and cam hidder this daye to me. He sheweth me that the King and Quene cam frome Sterling to Edinburghe, upon Mondaye the vi daye of this Moneth, accompanied with the Bishops of Glaskew, Abirdene, Dunkeld, Gallowaye, and Brighen; togidders with th'erles of Argile, Arren, Ecclington, Rothuse, and Bothwile. And also the Lordes Maxwell, Avendale, Seton, Forbos, Home, and Yestre, with their servaunts, to the number of CCC. Speres. And in the Bushop of St. Andros loegeing the King remaigned tewisdaye, wednisdaye. And upon Thuresdaye following ther was proclamation made, in the King's name, that no writing, messangers, or Messages, shuld by any parson be sent unto th'erle of Angwis, his two bretherne, or Uncle. And that none appartaingnyng unto any of them shuld be found in the towne, or precinct of the same, from iiii of the clock afternoon furth, upon paine of deth. Upon the Satturdaye, and Mondaye following, the King and the foresaid Lordes satt in the tolbooth; where as thaye determyned to have a parliament, and the same to begynne in Edinburghe on Wednesdaye the ii^{de} daye of September. Thaye have autorized the Bushop of Glaskew, late the Kings Schoolmaister, to be Chaunceller of Scotland: the Lord Maxwell to be Provest of Edenburghe. The King and Lordes of Counsaill haith sent writings at this tyme unto the King's Highnes, and your Grace, with Patrik Sincler. The King is reuled and advised by the Quene, Henry Steward now her Husband, the Lord Maxwell, and the Lard of Buccleugh, cheif mantener of all misguyded men on the borders of Scotland; togidders with the shireff of Ayre, that slew therle of Cassils, and now bedfello to the said King; with suche lyk oder murderers, and mysguyded personnes, whiche are now best cherlyhed, and most in favors with the sayd Kyng and Quene. I see no liklyhode or appearaunce of any staye, or good order, to be had within Scotlaund, for the causes aforesaid. Therefore I besiche your Grace that I maye knowe the pleasour of the King's Highness, and your Grace, as I shall ordour me, for as muche as many henyous offences ar commytted upon the bordours of both sides, and thofficers that was, or now is, deputed for the partie of Scotlaund, neithir made, or

of liklyhode woll make, redres for the attemptats passed. As-
furing your Grace all the tyme the King was in Edinburgh, he was
nightlie watched with sundrye Lordes, in their moſte defenſible arraye:
and one night the King watched hymſelf, in like arraye, for fere of
therle of Angwys and his partie. Upon tewesdaye laſt the ſaid King
and Quene removed to Sterling; and the Lordes roode to their owne
countreys, leving Edinburgh, and the Countrey adjacent, in diſorder.
As other newes occures, worth advertiſement, your Grace ſhal be
certefied frome tyme to tyme.

Like it alſo your Grace, ſeing the diſordour within Scotlaund, and
that all the myſguyded men, borderers of the ſame, inhabiting within
Eſkdale, Ewſdale, Walghopdale, Liddiſdale, and a parte of Tevidale,
foranempt Bewcaſteldale, and a parte of the middle marches of this
the King's bordours, entres not this weſt, and mydle marches, to do
any attemptate to the King our ſaid Soverain' ſubjects: but thaye com
thorow Beawcaſteldale, and retornes for the moſte partie the ſame waye
agayne. And alſo ſeing ther is no ſtaye had in the ſaid Beawcaſtelldale,
like as was deviſed by the King's Highnes and your Grace, at myne
admiſſion to thoffice of Weſt Wardenrye, therfor it maye pleas his ſaid
Highnes, and your Grace, to ſend unto Thomas Muſgrave Commaunde-
ment to lye in Beawcaſtell, aſwell for the ſuretie and defence of his
Charge, as for the reſt of both theſe Weſt and Middle Marches. And
he ſhal have aſſiſtence at all tymes requyſite, when he ſends unto me,
or my deputie, lawfull warnyng.

Sens the ſaid Dyk Irwen was taken, his broder, kynne, and friendes
hath taken a kynnyſman of myne, called Jeffray Middilton, a man of
oon hundreth Mark launde, and better, as he was comyng in his Pil-
gramege frome Sainct Ninians in Gallowey within Scotlaund; and kepes
hym amonges errant theves, adjoyning to the bordours, for ſuretie,
and woll not put or ſuffer hym to come to libertie, as a trew Pilgrame
ſhulde, without he redemes the ſaid arrant thef called Dik Irwen; not-
withſtanding the King of Scotts ſalve conduitt that my ſaid kynnyſman
had for his trew paſſage of record. And the holy Trynytie preſerve
your good grace. At Naward the xviii daye of July.

Yours with humble Service,
Willm. Dacre.

To my lord Legatis good Grace.

N^o XX. *Declaration of Friar Andrew Cairns, probably in
Sept. 1528. Caligula B VII, 79.*

BE it kend till all and findri, quhome to it efferis, that my Lord
Umq^u. of Angus desirrit us Frere Andro Cairnis, Minister of the freir
minoirs observants of Scotland, be divers writings, till laubour and
sollist the King's Hienes of Scotland, for gude wayes and concord to
be had, betwixt the King's Grace and the said Lord. Praying us
finalie to present his writings to the King's Hienes: quhais tenor
followis. "Sir, in my maist lawlie maner I commend my humyle
service to your Hienes. Sir, plesit your Grace to call to remem-
brance the faithfull service, lawlie obedience, and grete offers pro-
ceeding of trew hart and mynd, that my sempilnes hes maid, and
divers tymes causit to be maid, unto your Hienes; in fike sorte that
nevir subject nor servand mycht offer mair obediently to his Soverane
and Prince, nor purpose mair sounly to observe the same. Howbeit
in gud faith I nevir faltit agais your Hienes, as I fall answer to God,
nother in word nor deide. And thought I percheft the request of your
derest Uncle, the King's Grace of England, it was no cause of displea-
sure, considering I was sa extremie don to, nocht allanerlie at I had
foucht supplication of your derest Uncle, bot alsua of all Cristyne
Princes. And quhair my offeris ar reput generale, Schir plesit your
hienes, quhome I and all at I haue is in your handis, your grace may
dispone in speciale thereapon, as your hienes thinks maist expedient.
And misteris nocht to move in armye to your hous of Temptallon,
ffor it, and all the laif, salbe and is at your cumand; and I at your
gracis will, to pas quhair plesis your hienes; and my gudis to be at
your disposition: sa I may be restorit againe to my honor, and heretage,
and assurit of my life. For without honor I war not abill to serf your
hienes, nor nane uthir prince. Maist humlie beseking your hienes till
accept thir my lawlie offris, and trew service, and resseve my sempilnes
in favour; quhilke will redound to your hie honor, lawd, and price,
throw all the world, that is so gracious and mercifull prince to your
subiects, and servands. And gif yowr hienes wald be mair humane
and favorable to me, than is above writtin, I might maik the better
service. Schir I pray God conserve your maist noble person in lang
life, and gude heile. Writtin at your abbay of Coldinghane this wedin-
day at nycht." Quhilks beand red, the King, with advis and counsale
of his lordis, accept the forsaide offeris. The lordis makand ane dokete
for the observing of every puntt desirrit be the said erle, and this said
writing, sa that he observe and kepit every puntt above promittit,

And for the mair securite the King's hienes, twichand his breift, promist IN VERBO REGIO till observe his said desiris, sa that he kepit all his forsaide promitts. The quhilke dokete we send to the said Erle on the Friday; and ressaute this writing, send fra him, one the seturday therafter. "Fader, I commende me hertlie to yow; and this friday I ressaute your divers writings, and advertisments, and undirstands the samen. And quhair you write to deliver my hous of Temptallom incontinent, to quhat persons the Kings grace plesis, and to fulfill the remanent of my writings, I am contentit to fulfill and byd at all the puncts of my writings, my desiris contenit therin beand fulfillit to me. And that ane to be endit with that uthir. And quhair ye say I may caus my one Broder and frends make sik offeris for thair selfis, as I do for me, ye shall understand that the haile quarrell is myne, and na divisoun amangs me and thame. And gif I mak ony way for my self verray nocht allanerly mon I have thame contenit therin, bot alsua, or I leif furth the leif lad at pertenis to me, I had leuir neuir have heretage in Scotland. And as for the deliverance of thir men ye desir, sa all other things be fulfillit, that mater salbe endit amangs the laif. Praying yow to thanke all gude frendis that has done for me. And I thank yow ryght hartle, and fall reward yow, helping God: quha preserve yow eternale. Written at Coldinghame in haist this friday at nyght. Subscrivit, yours Archibald erle of Angus." Thir ar the verray copeis of the letters send to the King's hienes, and our sempilnes; quhilks at the desir of the maist reverend father in God Gavyne Archibisshope of Glasgou chancellor, and lordes of the counsaile of Scotland, and my lord Ambassador, Archidene of Estereddours to the maist nobyll and excellent prince, Hary King of Ingland, quhilks we testifie be owre ayne subscripcion. Fordir howbeit the Erlis writing spak allanerly for hymself, nevertheless the Kings hienes, desirit be us, promist to ressaue his kyn and frends, in the same sort; sa that thair wald mak sic lik offeris for thame selfs, as the said erle maid for hymself.

Yf frer Andro Cayrnis,
minister provincial
of the freir minors
in Scotland, with our
hand.

Yf frer Andro Cayrnis

apprevis the word

on the tother syd,

IN VERBO REGIO.

And

N^o XXI.

N^o XXI. *Northumberland to Wolfsey, 9 Oct. 1528.* Caligula
B. VI, 459.

PLEASITH it youre good Grace, according to your Comaundement, to be advertysed of the newes of theis parts, fyns my last lettres unto the same. The Kyng of Scotts, the iith day of this present month of October, in hys owne person, with the nombre of D men, came to the Abbey of Coldyngham: afore whose commynge the Erle of Angwyshe brother, whoo was Prior ther, was deperted to the mercy of God, and ther thought to have takyn the said Erle; but he havynge prevey warnyng of the Kyngs malicyus purpose, did hove, with CC men, within a myle of the Kyng. And at the said Kyngs comynge thither, he put the Lord Home, and his brother the Abbot of Gedworth, in the said hous of Coldyngham: and ther left theyme to kepe it, returnyng agayn homeward. At which returne the said Erle of Angwyshe pursued the Kyng soo fast, that he drove hym to Dunbar.

And alsoo the said Erle expelled the Lord Hoome, and his brothir, owte of Coldyngham; and ther now doth remayne hymself, as more at length your Grace may perceyve by the Erlis lettres sent unto me the which letter I send unto your Grace herein closed. And now the said Erle haith sent unto your Grace's Castell of Norham the Laidy Margaret his doughter, which he had by the Quene; whoo ther doth remayne unto such tyme I may knawe funder of your Grace's pleasure.

And for the said Erle, I can see non other but that, of very necessite, he shal be dryven unto this Realme for sucker, by reason of the great army that the Kyng doth rayse against the xviiith day of this month, only to put and expulse owte of his Realme the said Erle: whoo in lykewyse haith wryten unto me to aide hym. To which no funder than I have wryten unto your Grace by my former letters, I will procede anends the saide Erle, unto such tyme as I may know the Kyngs Hyghnes's pleasure, and youre Grace's: the which to folowe, accordeinge unto my most bounden dutye, I shall indeavour myself, to the uttermost of my power.

Notwithstanding now, whan the said Erle of Angwyshe dyd set upon the Kyng of Scotts, it was in the nyght, at which tyme many Scotts men, and, as I am very credably informed, dyverse of the borders of England, came unto the said Erle in the nyght; the which dar not resort unto hym in the day. Soo that he was D men, upon the nyght whan he chassed the Kyng.

And for Justis of the Borders, here is none kept of the Scotts party, nor noo redresse maid: for of late the Scotts have bene in, on the
water

water of Tyne, and takyn xxiii men, and xvi Catell. And noo redressie I can have of the Kyng of Scotts, nor of hys Counsell for the same.

And for the Contrey of Northumberland, for theft done for ony Inglyshe men, I suppose was never in such stay as it is now; and noo crymes now comytted, nowther by Gentlemen, ner non other, contrary to the Lawes of the Wardenry, and Justs, but they be sharply corrected. Sayff, to the perlus example of all the Contrey, Syr William Ellycar haith, without licence, bene in the Realme of Scotland, and also brought in with hym Mark Carre, and other Scottsmen, to the Kyngs Castel of Werk; and ther hunted openly with the Scotts men in England. The which march tresons, by caus he is the Kyngs Servant, I durst not procede unto, without the Kyngs plesure knawen, and your Graces; the which in the premisses most humble I besech the same I may know: and that it may like your good Grace to gyf credence unto my felowe Lenard Musgrave, this beirer, whoo purposely I send up unto you, to informe youre Grace of thes occurraunces at lenth.

And this ixth day of this present month, I receyved lettres frome the Kyng of Scotts, and the Quene, the which I send unto youre Grace; wherby your Grace may well perceyve the colorable aunsware of the said Kyng, as oure Lord knowith: whoo evermore preserve your good Grace with long lyf, and as mych increase of honour as youre most noble hart can desyre. Writen at the Kyng's towne of Newcastle uppon Tyne, the ixth day of October.

Your most bondon Servant,
H. Northumbreland.

To my Lord Legats good Grace.

N^o XXII. *Angus to Northumberland, November 1528.* Caligula B VII, 99.

MY Lord, in my maist hertly manere I commend me unto you Gud Lordship. And to certify the samyn of sic Nouelles as occuris her, emplefit yo^r L. call to remembrance, how the king my Maister assemblit his army the xviii day of October last bipast; notwithstanding the tender and special lettres, the kings hienes of Eingland directis to his grace, in fauouris of me, and incontrar the said convocation, or assegeing of my hous of Temptallon. At the quilk he, and his army, with artaillierie of his awng, and of Dunbar castell, in great quantite, has lyne and assegit rycht sharply, baith be gunnis and ingenious men, baith Scottis and French; that myndit the Wallis in sic fort, that as can be rememberit thar was nevir sa mekil pane, travell, expensis, and diligence, done and maid for the wynnyng of ane hous, and the samyn escaip, in Scotland, sen it was first inhabit. And upon Weddynisday, the ferde of November, the King removit to Edinburcht, but xvi mylis fra Temtalloun; and left ane band of fut men, and ane company of hors men, to convoy hame the artaillierie. And that samyn Weddynisday at nyght, I and part of welehorset men of myn awin, of the nowmer of aucht scor, (and levit the lave of my folkis behynd me at Temtalloun,) followit in after thame; and a litill after the mone ryfing, or it was day, set apone thame; and has defait thame all, loving to God, baith hors men, and fut men; and slane David Falconer, principall Captaine, of the fut men, the best man of Wer was in Scotland, on the sey, and was takin be Einglishmen not lang ago. And I have takin ane uthir Capitane of the fut men, and has him in firmance. And als I tuk the Maister of the Artaille, and wan all the samyn; and had baith men, and artaillierie, all in my will and dangar: bot becaus the King my Maister is sa neir of blud to the Kings hienes of Englande, that has done sa mekill for me, and sa gud and gracious Prince to me, and mekill the better be yo^r sollicitatioun, I wald not dishonor the King here so fer as to hald his artaille, bot convoyit the samyn myself, quhill it was furth of danger. And sufferit the Maister of artillie to pas, and prayit him to commend my lauly servece unto my soverane, and to shew his Grace that I have been trew servand and subject to the samyn: and that I gave his Grace na wyte of ocht that was done to me, bot to the ewill avisit persones about his grace, not worthy thereto; and had done sic dishonor to him at this time thai mycht nevir amend it, and I had plesit put it to execucioun. My Lord thir premissis are of verite. And howbeit I myght have ane way and appoyntment,

ment, I will do nothing therein but be the ordinance of the King's Hienes of Eingland, and the avifs of yo' Lordschip. And has writtin presently to the King's hienes to fend command to the Commiffionaris, not to tak na trewis nor peax, without I and my frends be restorit to our heritages, benifices, Offices, Rowmys, and possessions. And his grace abyding therat, I know perfit all will be as his hienes will have it. And further in every behalff my brother your servant can informe yo' L. quham God conserve eternaly. Writtin at Coldingham Abbay, this Satterday.

Yours Ar^d erl
off Angus.

To my Lord Erle of Northumberland,
Lieutenant, and Warden General, of the
Marchis of Eingland foranents Scotland, &c.

N XXIII. *James V to Dr. Magnus, 5 Dec. 1528.* Caligula
B VII, 120.

SUR, Myn hartly luffit clerk, we gryt yow weel, and thanks yow with all our hart of the gud mynd ye beer at all tymes tewart the wyll of ws, and our realm, quhilk we perfaif be dyverys experymentys; and thynk weyll we fall be kend theron as tym requerys. Prayand you to persewer in syk yo^r gud mynd, for the weyll bath of our dereft uncle and ws, and of our realmys, lyk as the Baryr Measter Adolvy* can schaw you; to quhom we pray yow gyf credens. Wirtyn with our hand, at Ed^r the vth day of Desem^r.

Y^r frynd,
James R.

* Perhaps *Adam Ottirburn*, for the hand-writing is not very legible, being wholly the king's own.

* Sic: some error of the old copyist.

N^o XXIV. *The libellous intercepted letters of John Penman to Sir George Douglas, Oct. 1536.* Copies, Caligula B III, 293.

LETTER I. Rouen, 22 Oct.

RYGHT Honorable, and my singuler good lorde, I commend my service to youre Lordshyp. As for tydyngs I here to be trew, notwythstondyng as I am informed the Kyng wyll not have the Dukes Doughter. He is as yit up at Lyons, or els at Rowane a yissid*, I here saye he is sumwhat a crased. He is the werst spoken of man, namely of his owen, boyth menyons and gentlemen, wher the dar speke it, that is in the universall world. He hayth beggert all Scotland, as they saye or he cum owt of it. And nowe beyng here, orderyng hymselfe so folyshele, with a servannd or ii, runnyng up and down the streats of Parys, bying every tryffell hymselfe; he wenyng no man know hym, wherfor that every carter poyntyd with ther fynger, sayng yondre goyes la Roy de Escoisse. Sum saye he wyll desyre the Kyng of Fraunce's Doughter; other sum sayes he will desyre nocht els, but Dunbarr, a Shepp, and ii or iii horsses. He haith send Rychyt Carme chell in Scotland, with wryttyngs and tokens to the Lord of Lawghtlevens wyfe; wharfore other som sayes he wyll have her. Every man ys very with him; they wyshe hym undre the grounde; they swere he can not contynew. No man can tell how sone he cumys be post, to put his fute in a Shepp, or taryes all thys wynter. Ther ys with hym Olyuer Synkler, Robert Gibs, Andrew Wod, John Talland, and James Maxuell of Rowen, and Monsieur Esturmaill the steward of the Duck of Vandoms house. George Steele, and hys Chapell is in Rowen; John Drumond, Henry Kempt, with all the resydew, ys in the New Haven. It is informed me, of youre singuler frends, there ys no Scotts man with him for hys hede dar move your matter to the Kyng. He cannot byde the syght of them that he thynks favors yowe; notwythstondyng I shall do youre commandement (God wyll) prove as it may. The Kyng follows no man's counsell, but hys owen brayn, without any consyderacon; wherefore both more and les haytts hym to the Devell. The Erle of Moray asked the Kyng where hys menyon Sir James was, that he cam not wyth hym; the Kyng sayd he had sawttid fore to him, and shuld never have hys favor agayn: na, sayd the Erle, by the wondes of God he cannot sawt to you, thought he shuld dryte in youre hands. The

* Sic: some error of the old copyist.

Erle roundyd a friend of yours in the ere, and sayd Where ys your masters now, why are they not doying? they shuld have now frendes ynewe. And thys same taile haith ben told me so ofte, that I know you have mony of the harts of them about hym. They wold have hym down: he cannot contynue emongst them. Ther ys words betwene George Stele and M^r. Adam Otterborn. George haith wryttn a letter hame to M^r. Adam, sayng he shall cause hym to be hanged, by cause that he intercomynid, as George Stele says, with my Lord * and yowe, he beyng Ambassador at London. The Kyng had commynycacon with the Erle of Moray, sayng that Douglas Daile ys a noble contray; and that ii marks lands gave to hym a hundre marks: wher every wyffe have good barrells of aile in her howse to entrete a Prince wyth. Wher upon I marke the extremnes of the Kyng toward you; and the great displeasure that the Erle bers the Kyng, if he durst owt wyth it, in so miche as he shewed thys thyng unto your frends. To be playn, in good fayth I wold you had the Kyng of Englund's good wyll, wyth hys supple to strenght yow in your ryght at thys tyme. But I am afferyd the Kyng wylnot suffre you; and I wold you shuld not interprice without hys good dede and wyll thereto. But take pacience, for I hape your adversaries glase, the Kyng of Scotts, is almost runne owt. The Erle is very with hys parte, and also ashamed; in so myche he sayd he wold folow hys foreberers fute stepes, to go the same waye that they went *; that to be stykyd in a gutter, I wold not be in hys condicion to be Kyng of all the world. To morow, God wyllyng, I entend to taik my Jorney toward John of Drummond. I must goo secretly, and mayk secret ways, for he wyll be utterly maryde if it be knowen that I shuld speke wyth hym. As I here ferder tydyngs yow shall know. If you wold haue ought ells, cause your wryttyngs with haste to be delyvred to George Howm in Depe; for I cannot tell how long I shall tary here; I entend no lengar then I have occasyon. I wrote to your Lordshyp a letter owt of Depe, the xix daye of Octobre, which I truste is cumand to your hands or now; as knowith God, who have you in hys kepyng. At Rowen, the xxii. daye of Octobre, by your's affurydly,

Gawine cumys nyghtly
to me with newes.

M^r. John
Penven.

(The copie of Penven hys lettre to the Lord Douglas.)

* Angus. † An allusion to Douglas earl of Moray, a rebell against James II?

LETTER II. Paris, 29 Oct.

RYGHT honorable, and my especiall good lorde, I commend my service to youre Lordshyp. Certefying the same that, sen I landyd in Fraunce, I was not oon dave unridding. I have ben at Hartflowe, and at the New Haven. I bare Gawyn's charges, and tooke hym with me, to that entent that I shuld kepe my selfe close, and cause hym to bryng your frends to me, bothe for yowr welth and ther's. He went to the man that I was specially send to. He was glad of my comyng, bot he cowde not cum to me; nor he wold not that I shuld have cumyd to hym. The king sende to hym a letter chargyng hym, in payn of hys hed, he should not departe from the Sheppe ii pare of buttelenghtes, nor yet lye owt of her, wher all hys treasure and rayment laye. Not with stondynge he is youre faythfull frend. Nor, as I am informed, ye have not a foo with the Kyng at thys tyme, save the Erle of Argyle. John of Bartoun com lovingly to me in Hartflowe, and shewed to me many good tydyngs. Sir James Hammylton is evell reported of to the Kyng of many; and the Kyng haith sworn to have amends of hym; in so myche the King hym selfe sayd, upon the see, to John of Drummond, If I wold bot oons luke merely upon the Erle of Angus, Sir James wold drowppe; for by the wondes of God, sayd the Kyng, for all Sir James bragyng, the Erle of Angus and he never mett, bot Sir James torned euer the bak semes of his hoose. After poyntments and wayes made with your frends, I returned again to Rowen; wher, that same nyght, I harde an inclyn of a poyntment betwen the Fraunce Kyng and the Kyng of Scotts. Wherefore on the morning I was styryng betyme, and postyd to Parys to know the truthe of every thyng. A legge a yysid * Ponttoyes I mette with my Lorde Askyne and the Abbot of Couper, makyng haste to the New Haven to passe in Scotland, in oon of the Kyng Sheppes, to receave Dumbar to the Kyng of Scotts use, with all the Implements thereof. Of a certainty the Kyng of Scotts shall marye Madame Magdalen the Fraunce Kyngs eldest Doughter: the xxv daye of Novembre, they shall be mayd handfast, other in Bloyes, or els in Ambos, wher nowe bothe the Kyngs be together. Ther mariage shall be in Parys, with great tryumphys. The same daye in Parys shal be maryed the Duke of Wandome Doughter, the which the Kyng shuld have had, to the Counte of Auvars †. The Kyng ys mych mayd of with the Fraunce, and put in the same order that the Dolfynne had, with all the Dolfyns servands

* Sic: probably *ayond*, beyond.

† Anvars or Auvais.—Avrais?

wayttyng upon hym. It was shewyd to me, of a sage merchante of France, that their ii Kyngs wold have the Kyng of Englonde with them thys wynter. The Kyng of Englonde can desyre nothyng reasonable of the Fraunce Kyng, but he shall opteyn it, he loves hym so well. Wherefore if ever ye looke to have the favor of the Kyng of Scotts, othir now or never plye your busyness; and breke the matter to the Kyng of Englonde your mayster, for he maye opteyn at thys tyme of the Fraunce Kyng what he will desyre. And I am sure the Kyng of Scotts wyll denye nothyng, that the Fraunce Kyng wyll desyre hym with. In the mean whyle (God wyll) I shall so labor with your frends, that the Kyngs malice shall be sumwhat abatyd. Lyberton ys kynde after the olde fasion, with many more, if they durste expresse it. Me think it best that ye shuld so solicyt the Kyng's moste affectuall letters, that they shuld be with the Fraunce Kyng before the daye of mariage; the which shall be upon Sanct Katheryns Daye, if all promyses be kept. Yf you wyll have me to do ought els, instructe me wyth your wryttyngs, the which I loke every daye for. Cause the wryttyngs ye shall send to me to be delivvyred in Depe, to George Howm. Thys ys the thyrde letter that I have wrytten to your Lordshyp, sens I com in Fraunce; the which letter I pray God maye sone com to your hands, both for your welth and my discharge. I entend to seke up to the courte for more knowledge; but thys ys trew that I wryte to yow. Other yow shall opteyn the Kyng of Scotts favor, if the Kyng of Englonde wyll shew hym selfe your good mayster, as your truste ys in hym, or the Kyng of Scotts com owt of Fraunce; or els we shall never sew for hys favor and good wyll hereafter. Ye know what that ye have to doo, as God comforth yow to your harts ease. As knowyth God, who evermore preserve yowe. In hast; at Parys, the xxix Daye of Octobre, by your own unseynydely,

M: John

Penven.

(The trew Coppys of the Scottyssh

letters taken of laitt

from a Scott, good as I

thinke to be seyn.)

N° XXV.

N^o XXV. *Sir William Eure to the Lord Privy Seal of England*, 26 January 1540. Ms. Reg. 7 C XVI.

PLEAS it your goode Lordshipe to be advertisede, that at the meat-
ing which I had with twoe gentle men of the King of Scotts' Coun-
saile, at Caldestreme, for suche buysynes as I have advertised your
Lordshipe of, in myn other letter, what of our precedings in the same,
I haide diverse comynyngs with Sir Thomas Bellendyn, one of the said
Counsaillors for Scotlande, a man by estymacyon apperaunte to be of
th age of fiftye years, or above, and of gentle and sage conversacion,
specially touching the staye of the Spiritualltie in Scotlande. And
gathering him to be a man inclyned to the soorte used in our Sovereigns
Realme of England, I dide soe largely breke with hym in those be-
halves, as to move to knowe of him of whate mynde the King and
Counsaile of Scotlande was inclyned unto, concerning the Busshope of
Rome; and for the reformation of the misusing of the Spiritualltie in
Scotlande. Whereunto he gentlie and lovinglie answerede, shewing
hym self well contented of that comynyng, did saye that the King of
Scotts hym self, with all his temporall Counsaile, was gretely geven to
the reformation of the mysdemeanours of Busshops, Religious per-
sones, and priests, within the Realme. And so muche that by the
King's pleasure, he being prevey therunto, thay have hade ane enter-
luyde played, in the feaste of the Epiphane of our Lorde laste paste,
befor the King and Quene at Lightgwe, and the hoole counsaile spiri-
tuall and temporall. The hoole matier whereof concluded upon the
declaration of the noughtiness in Religion; the presumpcion of
busshops; the collusion of the spirituall Courts, called the Consistory
Courts in Scotlande; and misusing of preists. I have obteigned a
noote from a Scotts man of our soorte, being present at the playing of
the said Enterluyde, of theeffecte thereof, which I doe sende unto
your Lordshipe by this berer. My Lorde, the same Mr. Bellenden
shewed me that, after the faide Enterluyde fynished, the King of
Scotts dide call upon the Busshope of Glascoe being chancellor, and
diverse other Busshops, exorting thaym to reforme their facions and
maners of lyving; saying that oneles thay soe did, he wold send sex of
the proudeste of thaym unto his uncle of Englande; and as thoes wer
ordored, soe he wold order all the reste, that wold not amende. And
therunto the Chancellor shuld aunfuer, and saye unto the King, that
one worde of his gracs mouthe shuld suffice thayme to be at com-
maundement. And the King haistely and angrely annfuerd, that he
wold gladely bestowe any words of his mouthe that could amend thaym.

I am

I am also advertised by the same Mr. Bellyndyn, that the King of Scotts is fully mynded to expell all spirituall men from having any auctorite by office under his Grace, either in household or ells where within the Realme; and dailye studieth and devisethe for that entente. The same Mr. Bellendyne, haith desired of me, to haue an abstract of all suche acts, constitucions, and proclamacions, as ar passed within this the King our Soveraign's Realme, touching the suppression of Religion; and gathering unto the Kings Majestee suche other proffeits as befor haith been spi with the reformation of the misde-meanours of the clergie; saying that he trusteth to have the King his master to studie the same. And haith me that if I cane attaigne the said acts, constitucions, and proclamacions, that I shall not adventur to fende hym thaim, but by such a proper person as he, by a secreat token whiche is devised betwene hym and me, shall send unto me for that purpose. Further he haith aduertysed me, that it is appointed the Quene of Scotts now being with childe, shalbe crowned on Sondaye, the firste daye of Februarij. And thereafter shall be had a convencion of the lords, for whate purpos I cannot be certefied as yet; but as is thought aptely for the reformation of spiritualtie. I am advertisede by one of myn espialls that the Kinge of Scotts, having at this instaunte three shipes in redynes to goe to the sees, haith been at seen, and viewed the same; and that it is rumered a mainge the common people, thay shulde be prepairede for the Kyng to goe to the meating in France. My Lord, conscidering the effects of the premisses, I thought my duetie could be noe les thene of the same with deligence to advertise your Lordshipe. Wherin as shall further stande withe the Kings maiesties pleasure to commaunde me, even soe I shall, God willing, applie myn utter deligence, by the grace of the hollie gooste: whoe ever preserve your goode Lordshipe. At the King's maiestie's Castell of Berwicke, the xxvi daye of Januarye.

Your lordships
 To the right Honourable,
 and my very goode
 Lorde, my Lorde
 privey Seale. } At Commaundement,
 Wyllm. Eure.

The Copie of the Nootes of the Enterluyde.

IN the firste entres come in SOLAICE (whose parte was but to make mery, sing Balletts with his ffellowes, and drinke at the interluyds of the play,) whoe shewede firste to all the Audiance the play to be played, whiche was a generall thing, meanying nothing in speciall to displeas noe man, praying therfor no man to be angre with the same.

NEXTE

NEXTE come in a King, whoe passed to his throne, having noe speche to thende of the play; and thene to ratifye and approve, as in playne parliament, all things doon by the reste of the players whiche represented the three estates. With hym come his courtiers, PLACEBO, PIKTHANKE, and FLATERYE, and suche alike garde: one swering he was the lustieste, starkeste, best proportionet, and most valiaunte man, that ever was. An other swear he was the beste with longe bowe, Crosebowe and Culveren, in the world. An other swere he was the beste Juster, and man of armes in the world; and soe furthe during thair partes. THER AFTER came a man, armed in harnes, with a swerd drawn in his hande, A BUSSHOPE, A BURGES man, and EXPERIENCE, clede like a Doctor: whoe sete thaym all down on the Deis, under the KING. After thayme come a POOR MAN, whoe did goe up and downe the scaffald, making a hevie complaynte that he was heryed throughe the Courtiers taking his fewe in one place, and, after, his tacks in an other place; wher throughe he had scayled his house, his wife and childeren beggying thair brede; and soe of many thousand in Scotlande, whiche wolde make the KYNG's grace lose of men if his grace stod neide. Saying thair was noe remedye to be gotten, for thoughe he wolde fuyte to the King's grace, he was naither acquainted with Controuller nor Treasourer; and withoute thaym myght noe man gete noe goodenefs of the King. And after he spered for the King; and whene he was shewed to the MAN that was KING in the playe, he aunfuere and said he was noe King, for ther is but one King, whiche made all and gouernethe all; whoe is eternall; to whome he and all ertheley Kings ar but officers; of the whiche thay muste make recknyng. And so furthe much meere to that effecte. And thene he looked to the KING, and saide he was not the King of Scotlande, for ther was an other King in Scotlande that hanged John Armeistrang with his fellowes, and Sym the Larde, and many other moe, which had pacified the countrey, and stanchd thifte. But he had lefte one thing undon, whiche pertaynede aswell to his charge as thother. And whene he was asked what that was, he made a long narracion of the oppression of the poor, by the taking of the Corse presfaunte beists; and of the herying of poor men by the Consistorye lawe, and of many other abussons of the Spiritualtie, and churche; with many long stories and auctoraties.

And then the BUSSHOPE roise, and rebuked hym, saying it effered not to hym to speake such matiers; commaunding to hym scilence, or ells to suffer dethe for it, by thair lawe. Therafter roise the MAN OF ARMES, alledginge the contrarie, and commaunded the POOR MAN to speake, saying their abusson hade been over longe suffered, withowte any lawe. Thene the POOR MAN shewed the grete abusson of Busshopes, Preletts, Abbotts, reving mens Wifs, and Doughters, and holding

holding thaym; and of the maynteynyng of thair Childer; and of thair over bying of lords and Barrons Eldeste sones, to ther Doughters, wher throughe the nobilitie of the Blode of the Realme was degenerate. And of the greate superfluous Rents that pertayned to the churche, by reason of over muche temporall lands given to thaym; which thaye proved that the Kinge might take, boothe by the Canon Lawe, and Civile Lawe. And of the greate abomynable vices that Reiaigne in clostures; and of the common bordelles that was keped in Clostures of Nunies. All this was prouit by EXPERIENCE. And alsoe was shewed THOFFICE of a Busshope, and producit the Newe Testament, with the auctorities to that effecte. And thene roise the MAN OF ARMES, and the BURGES; and did saye that all that was producit, by the POOR MAN and EXPERIENCE was reasonable, of veritie, and of greate effecte; and very expedient to be reaformede withe the consent of parliament. And the BUSSHOPE said he wold not consent thereunto. The MAN OF ARMES and BURGES said they were twoe, and he but one, wherfor thair voice shuld have mooste effecte. Therafter the KING in the playe rased, approued, and confermed, all that was reherfed.

very good words, which he wold have me at his coming to London, which he thought to be on Monday next at the turnell. And this is all he sent me worde of.

My Lord, I advertise you further of such news as I do hearne. I shall moulte you with the longer letter. The said Barwick saith that on Thursday last, a proclamation was made at Eidenborough, every man between xvi and lx yeres of age to be redy upon xxiii hours warning, upon payne of death: and like proclamations were sent to all the parties of Scotland.

Also a secret letter, who I knowe to bee moche favour to thair of Arran, and hath a great authority about the ordinance of Scotland, shewed hym that ther was newe tymmed, and parte of thair newe made, in the Castle of Eidenborough, xvi great peeces, as Canons and Culverynes, and lx smaller peeces for the teld; and that all they shold be redy within xx daies after that.

Also he herde on Wednesday last a Sermon preached before the yowge quene at Lichko, by a Priest; and the great parte of the Sermon was in extolling of the Bullie of Rome's authority. And ther was present the Bishoppes of Glasko, Galloway, and Aberdeen, and no temporall Lords.

Also he saith that divers honest persons of his acquaintance there did aske hym howe we did agree with France; saying further, if we and France agree well, we and ye shall agree well; for as France doth with you, so will we do. And thus he the newes in effect that he can shewe me.

By divers other waies I am advertised that the Clergie of Scotlande doth aske that their King shold do thair, as the King of France doth.

Nº XXVI. *Norfolk to the Lord Privy Seal of England,*
29 March 1540, or 1541. Caligula B VII, 228.

MY Lorde, with herty recommendations, theese shalbe t'advertise you, that yesternight cam unto me Barwick the Pursevaunt, from Lancaster the Harault, whom he left at Edenborough; and had taken his leve of the King, and remayned for letters to the King's Majestie. He brought me word from the faide Lancaster, that the King of Scotts commawnded hym to sende me worde that, on Mondaie or Tewesdaie at the furthest, he wold sende unto me somme of his owne house, and somme of the borders by those termes.

The faid Lancaster sent me worde also that the King there had handeled hym very gentlelie; and that he faide unto hym he wold never brek with the King his Uncle during his lif; with many mo very good words, wiche he wold shewe me at his commyng hither, wich he thought to be on Mondaie nexte at the furthest. And this is all he sent me worde of.

My Lord, t'advertise you further of fuche newes as I do lerne, I shall molest you with the longer letter. The faid Barwick faithe that, on Thursdaie last, a proclamation was made at Edenborough, every man betwene xvi and lx yeres of age to be redy upon xxiiii houres warnyng, uppon payne of deathe: and like proclamations were sent to all the parties of Scotlande.

Also a secret frende, who I knowe to bere moche favour to therle of Anguyshe, and hath a great authoritie about th'ordinaunce of Scotland, shewed hym that ther was newe trymmed, and parte of them newe made, in the Castle of Edenborough, xvi great peces, as Canons and Culveryns, and lx smaller peces for the felde: and that all they shold be fully redy within xx daies after Ester.

Also he herde on Wednysdaie last a Sermon preached before the yowng quene at Lithkoo, by a Frier: and the great parte of the Sermon was in extolling of the Bushop of Rome's authoritie. And ther was present the Bushoppes of Glaskoo, Galoway, and Aberdene; and no temporall Lords.

Also he faith that diverse honest persones of his acquayntaunce there did aske hym howe we did agree with Fraunce: sayng further if ye and Fraunce agree well, we and ye shall agree well; for as Fraunce doth with you, so woll we do. And these be the newes in effect that he can shewe me.

By diverse other waies I am advertised that the Clergie of Scotlande be in such feare that their King should do theire, as the King's Highnes
 hath

hath done in this Realme, that they do their best to bring their master to the warr. And by many waies I am advertised that a great parte of the temporalitie there wold their King shold followe our insample; which I pray God yeve hym Grace to comme unto.

My Lord, I beleve th'abbot of Arbroth, nowe Bushop of Saint Andrewes, is gone in to Fraunce, to knowe what helpe his M^r shall have, aswell of the Frenche King as of the Bushoppe of Rome, if he breke with us: without whose great helpe, I beleve he woll not breke withe us.

Some saye in Scotlande that he woll go from Fraunce unto Rome. Some saie he sholde be at a meting, that shalbe betwene themperor and the French King. Wher so ever he shalbe comme, I think he woll provoke all the hurt he can against this Realme; for England hath no gretter enemy to his power.

The young quene is all papist; and the olde quene not moche less, as I am informed: and she hath taken Henry Stewarde agayne. She is now at Sterlyn, and therefore Berwick could not speke wth her; wherof I am sorry.

Daily commeth unto me some Gentlemen and some Clerks, wiche do flee owte of Scotland, as they saie, for redyng of Scripture in Inglishe; sayng that if they were taken they sholde be put to execution. I yeve them gentle wordes, and to some, money.

Here is nowe in this towne, and hath be a good season, she that was wif to the last Capitayne of Donbar; and dar not reterne for holding our waies, as she saithe. She was in Englande, and sawe Queen Jane. She was Sir Patrick Hamelton's doughter: and her Brother was brent in Scotlande iii or iiij yeres past*. Other newes I have none t'advertise your good Lordship of; but that I have fownd so wek a towne and Castle here, that myne hert is fory to thinke thereon. It is xiiii yeres agoo sith I sawe it afore nowe; and withoute I had seen it with myne eyen, I wold not have beleved it had be so ill. I have alredy, and shall before my departure hens devise, as moche as I can, for the fortifieng therof, at the least as moche as the tyme may serve for, and my powre witt can ymagyne. And here be alredy vii^{xx} workmen; and after Ester shalbe as many moo. Sir George Lawfon can receive no more money of thabbot of S^t Mary Abbay, but iii^c x^l; and no more of the King's money is left in theise parties; and how litle while this small somme woll last, yo^r good lordship can well consider. Wherfore unles more money be sent hither within xiiii daies after Ester, the works here devised shall lye undonne; and the cost redy made lost. Wiche were great pitie, and the same shold not be a litle to the

* Very clear in the MS. Can there be an error of ten years in the date of Patrick Hamilton's martyrdom?

reyoice of the Scotts; wherfor most hertely I require your good Lordship to see provision therfore.

Also, my Lorde, I require you to sende away the pardons for those of Tyndale.

Finallie theese shalbe t'advertise you that the moſte parte of the Gentlemen of Northumbrelande, with their cumpanyes, have mette me in commyng to this towne; whom I have fownde ſo ill horſed, in maner all, ſauf the garnyſon of this towne, that I wold not have beleved the ſame withowte ſight therof. And yet one thing doth reyoice me that I here the borderers of Scotlande be worſe horſed then they.

Requyryng your good Lordſhip to have me moſt humblie recommended to the King's Maieſtie, making myne excuſe for not writing to his Highnes concerning the premiſſes. And thus our Lorde have you, my very good Lorde, in his tuition. Written at Berwick the xxix daie of Marche.

Further more I am advertiſed, by a credable perſon, that the marchants off ii Skottishe ſhips, now departed into Flaunders, be commanded to by as many hand gonnys as they may get. My Lord, if theſe ungracious preſts may not bryng their Kyng to war this ſomer, I am in gode hope that onys or Criſtmas the Kyng of Skotts woll take moche off their lands into his hands; wich to bryng to paſ ſhall lak no fettyng furth on my behalve, if any of his ſecret ſervants come hither unto me.

Your's affuredly,

T. Norffolk.

To my verrey good Lorde,
My Lord Pryvey Seale.

N^o XXVII. *Brief View of the State of Scotland in the Sixteenth century.* Ms. Sloane 3199, 94.

“MSS. *Ashmole*. 781, page 11.”

“*General state of the Scottish Commonwealth, with the causes of their
“often mutinies and other disorders. This has been written before the
“Union of the Crowns.”*

THE KING has not a negative in making Laws, but must ratifie what is agreed by the plurality of votes : his authority is summoning, and dissolving, the parliament. And in publishing their Laws, they are content that the Prince use more shew and flourish of authority, in the preface to their Laws, than indeed he has, as in the Laws of *Regiam majestatem*. Many of the Magistrates and publique officers are not of the King's creating, but hereditary ; as the Constableship, Mareschalship, Admiraltie, Shereffship ; the latter not only execute the *res judicatas*, as with us, but judge themselves both in Civil and Criminal matters. Besides the Lords of Session at Edinburgh are appointed by themselves ; and those recommended to the King may be put off from the Bench. Pardon and Execution in matters Criminal, is not peculiar to the crown ; for diverse of the nobility have *Jus Hereditarium* in matters criminal, to execute and pardon, within their precincts, as absolutely as the King. The Prince has not absolute authority in making Leagues or War, but must have the consent of the Estates ; the subjects at first are only obliged to follow their King 30 days upon their own provision, unless they agree it by a new Convention ; this besides the lessening the Prince's authority, gives cause to mutinies between the Prince and his nobles, and advantage to the by protracting the time which lie not universally to the Prince for several of the nobility hold and execute Justice absolutely without appeal to the Prince, within their Jurisdictions by Charter which the Prince cannot avoid nor take from them. As for example, in the Earl of Mortoun's Charter, which king James the 3d tare openly in Parliament, offended with the Clauses of it, especially with this point of no appellation to the Prince, adding that the Prince himself could have no more. But before he removed from the place where he tare it, he was forced by the nobility to sit down, and sew it up again with his own hands ; wherefore it is called *the sewed Charter*. Besides sentence of the Lords of the Session is peremptory, and not remissable by the Prince, saveing where it concerneth

cerneth his own private. These limitations doth he suffer in the more Southerly parts; among the Highlanders he seemeth to have no more authority than he can get by interest or force.

Crown Lands, £.50,000, of their money yearly, which is about £.5,000 sterling. At present the King's lands standeth out leased for long terms, by the late Regent, in consideration of large fines whereof was present need; which is great disadvantage now.

Customes, which cannot be great, by reason of the small exportation which the country yieldeth, as Fish, Salt, Hides, which amounts in the whole but to £.200,000, per ann. *ex Relatione Conservatoris publici*, the Custom whereof cannot be *

Impost, now assayed of late to have a Scottish shilling of each Tun, but was refused with grudging and almost mutiny.

Confiscations and Wardships, which are claimed for the most part imperiously by the nobility when they fall. The confiscations are annihilated, or returned, as the factions prevail; whereby little cleaveth to the King's Exchequer in the End.

Mines of Lead farmed to one Custome, whereof no profit cometh yet to the King. Of Gold and Silver ther is great likelyhood, &c.—Some doubt if the mines to the King, because of the word in the noblemens Charters viz. to have and possesse their Land, *a summo Cælo usque ad imos Inferos*.

Church Lands, where little or nothing cometh to the Crown at the dissolution of them, but were divided amongst their nobility by the authority of Parliament, holding their that the King's Revenue must not be increased.

Tenths, in lieu thereof, the Prince has the 3d of such benefices as exceed £.300 per ann. Scotch money, which are few, except those which appertain to Abbies, &c. which reserve their Immunities; whereby the commodity cannot be great, the number of all the Benefices in Scotland not exceeding 900.

Tax and Imposition, in the Southern parts, where they have money, and the people acknowledge some more duty, is imposed sometimes for the King's relief, but the Soum is very small. The State seemeth something like the Lacedemonian Mula, but somewhat worser sett, for that the King and Ephori amongs the Lacedemonians had their authority determined, and well agreed upon; here it is uncertain, and under continuall contentions, jealousies, and emulations, and their Parliament lesse orderly than the Senate of the Ephori; whereby great inconvenience groweth to their Commonwealth, whilst their Kings, who are commonly men of good spirit, contend with the nobility about authority, and would fain enlarge themselves, which seemeth to have cost

* Blank in original.

many

many a King's life among them. And in the mean while Order and Discipline in their Commonwealth fadeth loose betwixt both the authorities of Prince and nobility, whilst they follow factions and particularities. Besides this constitution of their Commonwealth, the want of money and reverence causeth the want of authority in the Prince, both to keep that in Order which he hath, and to recover that which he hath not.

Excess in proportion of the Nobility.

Number, which being more than so small a kingdom can well bear, viz. more than in England, and their Country much less and less fertile, must breed great inconvenience to their Commonwealth. And, first, to eclipse and overshadow the Prince's authority. 2^{do}, To make the Government more heavy upon his hand, by reason so many of the mightier sort. Thirdly, to overcharge the Country, and make less the proportion for the other Estates in their Ranks and Degrees, viz. for the Prince and for the Commons, whilst all these must have to maintain their Degrees and Nobility. Fourthly, it layeth the State open to Division and faction, by means of Envy, Emulation, &c. about particularities, for honor, and Commodities; which doth and must fall out, where are so many great ones in so narrow room.

Authority of the Peers, first they are all born Counsellours to the State. 2dly, in the Legislature, Leagues, Peace and War, making officers, determining in high Justice, and other matters of State, their Authority is joint and necessary with the Prince's, and more than can stand in a just Monarchy; the more because most Burrows are at the devotion of some Noblemen, as Cowper in Fife manag'd by the Earl of Rothes, Perth by Montrose, Dundee by Crawford, all the Northern Towns at the Earl of Huntley's command: whereby they have both their own and their Commons vote in Parliament, and so nothing can passe to prejudice the Estate of the Nobility, or enlarge the Prince's. Their authority over their Tenents, Clients, and Vassals, is so great, that they regard more their Patron or Noblemen as their Prince. The reasons whereof are, first, in publick matters their Authority is so great. Secondly, for that the whole Country hath few or no freeholders, but such as hold at the Lord's pleasure from year to year; whereby they are made thrall'd and obnoxious to him, having their whole estate and living depending on their Lords, and so are made servile, and at his commandment life and all.

Revenew. Some have from 15 to 20 Chaulders of victual per annum, besides some part in money, which may amount to £.26000 Scots:

Scots: which the great number of the nobility considered, this must exceed in proportion, and draw from the other two estates viz. the Prince and Commons. And this seems to be the Cause of all Scottish distempers, their often contentions, mutinies, partly whilst they join fast against the Prince, in keeping things in the State they are now in behalf of the Nobility, wherein they are too hard for the Prince: partly when they have fewds and quarrels amongst themselves, about their Lands, honor, and Jurisdictions, wherein are engaged the whole number of their Tenants, Vassals, and Servants, without furdur regard of their Prince's Laws or Equity; and especially amongst the Highlanders.

Defect in proportion amongst the Commonality.

Burghers, viz. Merchands and other Tradesmen. Merchands there are few, and mean for wealth, by reason of the small exportation, which the Country affordeth of few things, as of Fish, Salt, Hydes, Coarse-woll, which yeildeth not more than £.200,000 Starling; most of which goes out for forreign Commodities as Wines, &c. and so cannot grow rich by that Rule, *Divitem et bonum Patrem-familias vendere oportet non emere.* He is counted a rich Merchand who is worth £.100 Starling. *Handicraftsmen* have but small Trade, and their Trades but few; by reason the people are but poor, and accustomed to live hardly, without any variety of Diet, apparell, &c. whereby they have the lesse use of divers occupations, and other Handicrafts men make lesse return. There are 3 Trades for some Commodities, some coarse cloth making, Armory making, and Linnen Cloath: all from hand to mouth. Of *Lawyers* there are but few, and these about the Sessions at Edinburgh; for that in the Shires all matters are ended at the great mens' pleasures. These are of mean wealth, and bear more duty and respect towards the Prince. *Husbandmen* are very poor; they are a kind of Slaves, and pay in a manner to their Lord all the Commodities that come of their Labour, reserving to themselves at the year's end in a manner nothing but to live.

This defect of the Commonalty, viz. that there are so few of the middle Rank of Subjects amongst, that are able to live competently and honestly of their own, and by that means are a band to tie together the 2 Extremes, viz. the higher sort and the rascallity; and to sway with the better and more peaceable part, as having something to loose; is another great cause of the distemper and disquietness of that Realm. For by that means the whole Commonalty in a manner, a few excepted which are of no reckoning in comparifon of the whole, being
beggarly

beggarly and rascall, are ever apt for faction and tumult when occasion serveth; as having nothing to lose, and hoping to get something, when they may fish in a troubled sea; and so follow their Lords quarrells either amongst themselves, or against the Prince. Whereby the Prince and Commonwealth is ever weaning and floating, like a boat in the sea, to and fro, *Vento nobilitatis et vulgi fluctibus.*

IN Parliamento Excellentissimi Principis, et Domini nostri metropolitani, Jacobi quartii Dei Gratia Scotorum Regis illustrissimi, tenore et nichilominus apud Edinburghum, octavo die Mensis Octobris, anno Domini Millesimo, n. m. lxxxviii, dicto Ex^{mo} principe personaliter presente, unum abbas Regni sui ipsius, proposita sunt quæstio et causa conclusus apud 2. in qua illustrissimus Rex Jacobus tertius, progenitor 2. tenissimus Regis nostri predicti, sortito casu in fata decessit. Causa autem et occasione huiusmodi inter tres Status Regni convocatos reposita et disputata, Jo. Dominus Glammis presens et exhibuit certos articulos, manu dicti Illustrissimi Regis Jacobi descripti subscriptos, quorum tenor sequitur. Hi sunt subscripti articuli, super quibus Majestas Regis sub suo magno Sigillo Commissionem dedit dilectis suis Consanguineis et Consiliariis, viz. Reverendo in Christo Patri Willielmo Abboti Abertoni, Episcopo Cancellario suo, Georgio de Hantle, W^{mo} Marichale Comitibus, Jo. Domino Glammis, et Alexandro Lindesay,

* In the Catalogue, Vol. II, marked "Conduces Ambassadoribus, aliiquis pergrinibus; commissiones et alia per hanc a publicis, tempore Jacobi II, et III, R. R. Scotorum, n. m. lxxxviii." My correspondent adds the following

"Notes concerning the man in the Advocate's Library N. W. 6. 44. It is in 8^{vo} rather large—long, in very minute character, and full of bold broad contractions as page 19th. It contains 30 pages.

It is a Collection of 30th, probably wrote by a man in office for the sake of form. The 1st begins "Conduces Ambassadoribus," in bold letters, then follow 8 more, all beginning with Jacobus without date to page 12th.

Then follow five Commissions and Letters of Obsequies to the Pope to page 19th, when another still without date.

In page 19th, another Commission without date—then a Discharge by the King of part of his Queen's Tithes—page 21st—another 2nd February, 1406.

Then three Commissions without date, page 22. J. Fichale Dean of Kelving and Canon of Glasgow, Clerk Register of the Rolls Council.

In page 23rd is a Commission for propagating a trace 24th June 1407. Then forms of Commissions, 24th, 25th, and so more Commissions to page 34th, still without date.

A long Commission by Henry of England for Peace, Tithes, and Marriage. 34th Regis, and a Note about Alex. Duke of Albany's Commission for choosing a Wife in him, page 35th, and so more Commissions to page 36th, where there is one by Robt. Galt, Scotus, but without a date, then page 34th a Form of League without a date, then two or three more Commissions without date.

This and the following paper came too late to be placed according to date.

N^o XXVIII. *Declaration of the Parliament concerning the death of James III, 8 Oct. 1488.* ms. Advocates Library, W 6. 44*.

IN Parlamento Excellentissimi Principis, et Domini nostri metuentissimi, Jacobi quarti Dei Gratia Scotorum Regis illustrissimi, tento et inchoato apud Edinburgum, octavo die Mensis Octobris, anno Domini Millesimo, III^o. LXXXVIII, dicto Ex^{mo}. principe personaliter presente, unacum tribus Regni sui statibus, proposita fuit questio et causa conflictus apud S. in quo illustrissimus Rex Jacobus tertius, progenitor Serenissimi Regis nostri predicti, FORTUITO CASU in fata decessit. Causa autem et occasione hujusmodi inter tres Status Regni convocatos remotis et disputatis, Jo. Dominus Glammis presentavit et exhibuit certos articulos, manu dicti Illustrissimi Regis Jacobi defuncti subscriptos, quorum tenor sequitur. Hi sunt subsequent. articuli, super quibus Majestas Regia sub suo magno Sigillo Commissionem dabit dilectis suis Consanguineis et Consiliariis, viz^t. Reverendo in Christo Patri Willielmo Abirdonen. Episcopo Cancellario suo, Georgio de Huntle, W^{mo}. Marischalli Comitibus, Jo. Domino Glammis, et Alexandro Lindefay;

* In the Catalogue, Vol. II, marked "Conductus Ambaxiatoribus, aliisque peregrinis; commissiones, et alia quædam acta publica, tempore Jacobi II, et III, R. R. Scotiæ. ms. in 8." My correspondent adds the following

"Notes concerning the mss. in the Advocates Library N^o W. 6. 44.

It is in 8^{vo} rather large—long, in very minute Characters, and full of bold broad Contractions as page 19th. It contains 70 pages.

It is a Collection of *Stiles*, probably wrote by a man in office for the sake of form. Thus it begins, "Conductus Ambaxiat^{ors}. in bona forma," then follow 8 more, all beginning with Jacobus without dates to page 13th.

Then follow five Commissions and Letters of Obedience to the Pope to page 19th, when another still without date.

In page 19th, another Commission without date—then a Discharge by the King of part of his Queen's Tocher—penult. May 1450—another 2^d February, 1406.

Then three Commissions without dates, Page 22. J. Fresale Dean of Restalrig and Canon of Glasgow, Clerk Register of the Rolls Counsel.

In page 25th is a Commission for prorogating a truce 25th June 1493. Then forms of Commissions, *vel sic, vel sic*—and so more Commissions to page 34th, still without dates.

A long Commission by Henry of England for Peace, Truce, and Marriages. 8. Regni, and a Note about Alex^r. Duke of Albany's Commission for chusing a Wife to him, page 37th, and so more Commissions to page 51st, where there is one by Rob^t. Gub^r. Scotiæ, but without a date, then page 54th a Form of League without a date, then two or three more Commissions without dates."

This and the following paper came to hand too late to be placed according to date in the appendix.

ad Conveniend. Convocand. Concluden. et finaliter terminand. cum Dominis subsequen. vixt. Reverendo in Christo Patre Roberto Epo Glasguen. Archibaldo Angusie, Colino Ergadie, Comitibus, Patricio Domino Heb. * et Roberto Domino Lyle, qui Domini plenam et amplam habent Commissionem ab eccellente et magnifico Domino Jacobo Principe Scotie, et ab omnibus Dominis eidem servientibus, et in eodem existen. In primis ad communicand. et concludend. quod sublimis Regis honor Regalisque status et auctoritas exaltetur et sublimetur, eum in modum ut possit Justiciam in omnibus Regni sui partibus, et inter suos legeos, universaliter et omni loco *semiter imperitis* exercere. Secundo, quod sua nobilissima Majestas, omni tempore, in honore, et securitate, et libertate, fervetur; et quod Ecclesiarum Prelati, Comites, Domini, Barones, et alii persone prudentes, et probitatis, bone dispositionis, et sue serenitati non suspect. verum suis ligeis equales, sint per dies singulos circa suam Nobilissimam personam, ad bonum et felix regimen Regni et Ligeorum ejusdem. Tertio quod omnes personæ cum suo filio commoran. qui retroactis temporibus sue Majestati displicentiam incurrant, faciant honorabilem et legalem emendam suæ nobilissimæ Majestati, ad prudentiam et discretionem Dominorum prenominatorum, vita hæreditate et honore exceptis eorundem. Quarto, quod sacra Majestas Regia dabit honorabilem victum, et sustentationem, Domino principi, suo primogenito filio, secundum predictorum Dominorum Considerationem prudentiam et discretionem. Quinto, ad avisandum Dominos, Honorabilesque personas, discretos, bonæque dispositionis, qui jugiter permanebunt cum dicto Domino principe, pro honesto et bono Regimine in hac sua etate tenera, et indole præclara. Sexto, *ad cod. . .* et concludend. qualiter dictus illustris princeps, omni futuro tempore, parens et obediens suo inclyto Regi et patri; et qualiter paternalis et filialis amor, et pietas, omni tempore inter patrem Regem et filium principem cum honore et reverentia fiet. Septimo, qualiter Domini, ceteræque personæ, meram cum Domino principe trahentes gratiam, benevolentiam et favorem supremi Domini nostri Regis, et cordialem remissionem et indulgentiam nancescant, et quod personæ eorund. in securitate permaneant, prout melius et uberius possint per dictos Dominos cogitari, * * et displicere supremo Domino Regi in gestu temporibus retroactis. Octavo quod illustris princeps in cordiales favores omnes Dominos Spirituales et Temporales, ceterasque personas, que supremo Domino nostro Regi in Consilio et servicio in toto tempore turbatæ pacis assistebant, recipuit. Finaliter, quod omnes dissentiones, lites, et discordie, que nunc sunt aut agitentur inter aliquos Dominos et Barones principum predictorum, per discretionem et prudentiam Dominorum prædictorum ad unitatem Concordiam traducere eum in

* Hepburn Lord Hales.

modum quod dilectorum favor, amor, et benevolentia inter Supremum Dominum nostrum Regem, Subditos et Ligeos, observetur, et pax atque justitia Regis procedat: et specialiter inter Jacobum Comitem Buchanie, et Robertum Dominum Lyle. Quibus vero articulis visis et perlectis, Clare constabat de summo et tenore ipsorum articulorum satisfactum fuisse; sed mediantibus nonnullis partis illius illustrissimi quondam Regis, pretenfis contrariis pro tempore existen. quod eidem assisterant et Consilium dederant super introductione Anglorum, ad perpetuam hujus Regni subjectionem. Idem illustris quondam Dominus Rex hujusmodi sibi objecta sub palliato colore refutavit. Ob que Comites de Huntle, Errol, et Mareschall, et dictus Dominus de Glammis, et nonnulli alii Barones, et fideles Regis Legii, ab eodem dicto quondam Rege, et ejus antedicto perverso Consilio, se subtraxerint; et Regi nostro moderno ejusque fideli opinioni pro Republica adheferunt. Quibus omnibus et singulis jactatis, examinatis, et ad plenum intellectis, Completum Corpus Parliamenti mature avisatum declaravit et Conclufit, quod conflictus apud S. ubi antedictus Illustris quondam Dom. Rex præter spem in prælio occubuit, cum nonnullis Baronibus et Regni incolis, per totam culpam suam, et Colorata deceptione ex ejus perverso Consilio emanavit. Ac quod Serenissimus Rex noster modernus, ejusque fideles Domini et Barones, qui secum in hujusmodi conflictu Convenerant, fuerunt et sunt immunes et innocentes hujusmodi Conflictus, et persecutionis ac homicidiorum ibidem perpetratorum. In quorum omnium et singulorum fidem et testimonium, Magnum Sigillum præfati Serenissimi Principis, et Regis nostri Moderni, unacum appensionibus Sigillorum Baronum et Commissariorum burgorum, in dicto Parlamento Congregatorum, tres Regni Status representan. presentibus est appensum, apud, &c.

tempore, pax, amor, et benevolentia inter Regem, subditos, et ligeos, observetur, et pax atque justitia Regis procedat: et specialiter inter Jacobum Comitem Buchanie, et Robertum Dominum Lyle. Quibus vero articulis visis et perlectis, Clare constabat de summo et tenore ipsorum articulorum satisfactum fuisse; sed mediantibus nonnullis partis illius illustrissimi quondam Regis, pretenfis contrariis pro tempore existen. quod eidem assisterant et Consilium dederant super introductione Anglorum, ad perpetuam hujus Regni subjectionem. Idem illustris quondam Dominus Rex hujusmodi sibi objecta sub palliato colore refutavit. Ob que Comites de Huntle, Errol, et Mareschall, et dictus Dominus de Glammis, et nonnulli alii Barones, et fideles Regis Legii, ab eodem dicto quondam Rege, et ejus antedicto perverso Consilio, se subtraxerint; et Regi nostro moderno ejusque fideli opinioni pro Republica adheferunt. Quibus omnibus et singulis jactatis, examinatis, et ad plenum intellectis, Completum Corpus Parliamenti mature avisatum declaravit et Conclufit, quod conflictus apud S. ubi antedictus Illustris quondam Dom. Rex præter spem in prælio occubuit, cum nonnullis Baronibus et Regni incolis, per totam culpam suam, et Colorata deceptione ex ejus perverso Consilio emanavit. Ac quod Serenissimus Rex noster modernus, ejusque fideles Domini et Barones, qui secum in hujusmodi conflictu Convenerant, fuerunt et sunt immunes et innocentes hujusmodi Conflictus, et persecutionis ac homicidiorum ibidem perpetratorum. In quorum omnium et singulorum fidem et testimonium, Magnum Sigillum præfati Serenissimi Principis, et Regis nostri Moderni, unacum appensionibus Sigillorum Baronum et Commissariorum burgorum, in dicto Parlamento Congregatorum, tres Regni Status representan. presentibus est appensum, apud, &c.

Hebrian Lord Hales.

modum

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Nº XXIX.

N^o XXIX. *Revocation of the forfeiture of Lennox and Lyle,*
Feb. 1490. Same ms.

Annulatio Parlamenti de Processu super Comite de L. * prius prelato.

IN Parlamento Ex^{mi}. ac Dni. nri. metuend^{mi}. Jacobi quarti, Dei Gratia Scot. Regis illust. inchoato apud Edinburgh, in prætorio ejusdem, die Mercurii, tertio die mensis Februarii, Anno Domini M^o. &c. Octuagesimo nono, et ibid. tento die veneris, quinto die mensis Feb^{rii}. antedicti, in præsentia prædict. S. D. N. Regis pro tribunale sedentis, una cum Regni sui Prelatis, Ducibus, Coitibz, Baronibus, libere tenentibus, et Burgorum Commissariis, tres Regni Status represent. personaliter comparuit nobilis et Illustris Jo. Comes de L. Dominus de V. Dos. L. et Mattheus S. filius primogenitus ipsius Comitis de L^{ti}. querelam lamentabilem proponentes, quod cum ipsi ad certum diem Citati peremptorie fuissent, viz. ad diem Sabbati, vicesimum sextum diem mensis Junii, A. D. quo supra ‡, ad Comparendum Coram S. D. N. Rege antedicto, et tribus Regni sui Statibus, in Parlamento suo apud Edⁱⁿ. vicesimo septimo die mensis Junii prædict. tento, super certis lese Majestatis Criminibus in forma Juris responsuri. Quo die non servato, Juris ordine tres Regni Status in dicto Parlamento pro tempore Congregati, primo citationis die contra eos amissionis vitæ et hæreditatis Sententiam protulerint; non obstante quod in dicto citationis die, hora certa Comparisonis assignata non fuit, nec in diem Crastinum processus expectatus; quod de jure in Regni Consuetudine in variis exhæredationis processibus teneri consueverat et observari. Supplicarent igitur dictus Jo. R. & M. quatenus consideratis præmissis (cum Regia Serenitas in temporalibus Superiorem in terris non Cognoscit, qua ratione ab eadem appellare non licet, sed solummodo piis precibus humiliter supplicare,) ad nullitatem processus, et omnium inde secutorum procedere dignaretur. Quam ob rem Regni Status prædict. Conscionantes et Consulentes exhæreditationis processum, judicium, et sententiam inde secut. contra præfatos publicata et promulgata veras non *ferteri debere*, intelligentes eorum honorem inde augmentare, si juste satisfecerint, ac si quod minus bene fecerint *in m Commemtare*, nec ab aliis Corrigi, si *expectent* processus, summam et judicium exhæreditationis, vite hæreditatis et bonorum, personarum prædictorum, in dicto Parlamento vicesimo septimo die mensis Junii antedicto pro-

* Lennox.
 of Lennox.

+ John earl of Lennox, Robert lord Lyle, Matthew Stuart son
 ‡ i. e. 1489.

mulgat. et publicat. cum omnibus inde secutis dependentiis et annexis, matura deliberatione prius habita, Cassaverunt, irritarunt, et annullarunt, ac nullum et nulla fore decernerunt, ac nullius *unicujus* Roboris, aut momenti, in judicio aut extra, fore deliberarunt et determinarunt. Ac eosdem Jo. Comitem de L. Ro Do^m. L. et M. S. ad honores, famam, hæreditates, terras, dominica, et possessiones, ac omnia bona sua mobilia, cum restitutione in integrum, secundum formam et effectum Cartarum et evidentiæ suarum, eis et predecessoribus suis desuper Confectarum, restitui statuerint. Prout præfatus S. D. N. Rex, cum consensu et avisamento trium Regni sui statuum antedictorum, præmissa cassat, irritat, et annullat, decernit, deliberat, et determinat; et eosdem ut premittitur de præsentē restituit, ac ex certa scientia annullat omnes infeodationes et Concessionēs, in perpetuum seu ad tempus, ac etiam Cartas, Sasinas, et possessiones de terris predictorum Jo. R. et M. cuicunque personæ, seu quibuscunque personis, ratione prædict. processus forisfatture per S. D. N. Regem fact. et donat. Et præterea dict. Rex. ex sua speciali et divina Clementia, nec non reven. fidelia et grata servitia per prædictos J. R. & M. suis progenitoribus et Majestati prestita, rancorem animi sui Regiam, et omnem actionem quæ et quas ergo ipsos Concessit, habuit, seu habere poterit, occasione Criminis lese Majestatis, proditoria traditionis, transgressionum et aliorum Criminum, contra quorumcunque, per ipsos prout præfatur S. D. N. aliquibus temporibus retroactis quibuscunque Commissorum seu perpetratorum, eisdem remisit. Et ad majorem evidentiæ et securitatem præmissorum, idem S. D. N. Rex pro tribunali seden, cum diademate in Capite, et Sceptrum in manu gerens, præfatum processum, sententiam, et Judicium forisfatturæ, dictor. J. R. & M. per os Joannis Dempstar promulgat. Cassavit et annullavit prout sequitur*.

* Follows in the Copy, whence this is taken, the declaration of the King, pronounced by J. Dempstar, agreeable to the act in the Scottish language, 5 Feb. 1490. The King's Seal, with those of the Prelates, Barons, &c. are affixed: and the whole is marked as extracted from the Book of the Acts of Parliament by R. M. Dean of Glasgow, Clerk of Register, &c.

mulgat.
+ John Earl of Lennox, Robert Lord Lyle, Matthew Stewart son
J. R. & M. 1490.

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